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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Economic Realities

★ If Kennedy really lets himself go and debates economic issues he will win because he is right and because the White House sounding board is louder than all the nation's hostile press and business laments together. In fact we guess Kennedy has got to fight because he has no alternative.

We are moving toward a recession and the rival GOP economic hands-off program would be disastrous. We have got to have faster growth and the way to get it is through the budget. Kennedy has been a long time coming to this position. He has tried to conciliate business; he has sent "fiscally responsible" messages to Congress for a balanced budget (making no distinction between administrative budget and national income budget). There is no secret why he did this: he thought it would aid him politically, and the close votes in Congress show how right he was. But now the economic situation, we believe, won't wait. A slump would be the worst political bad medicine of all. He has got to be realistic at last. In fact Kennedy's Yale speech may mark the real beginning of his Administration.

The problem is simple enough. Private business doesn't put enough investment into the economy to keep it going. It has to be bolstered by public investment in which the engine of growth is the Federal budget. In times of sluggish growth the government should put more money into the economy than it takes out. But under the conventional "administrative budget" the bookkeeping is rigged to make a small deficit look like a huge one. The bookkeeping is misleading because it omits many items and distorts others (for example, lumping long-term capital investments into red-ink expenditures). The so-called national income budget is a fairer way of keeping accounts. But anyway, a deficit is indicated now and it shouldn't be inflationary because it doesn't come in a boom; just the reverse, there's an army of idle workers and a huge store of unused plant capacity.

Eisenhower did a big service last week talking to the Republicans here. He cut through the fog of the recent GOP statement of principles and spelled out specifically what the alternative policy to Kennedy's would be. At a time when the government ought to spend more he would retrench. He wants "a clear reduction in Federal spending." He feels this so strongly he would cut our very defenses.

It is easy enough to make fun of Ike. For instance he says "we [the GOP] are steadfast in our insistence upon balancing the Federal budget *in all but emergency periods.*" Goodness! His eight years must have been one long emergency because he only managed to balance the budget three times! But one doesn't read Ike for logic. He represents all the wrong-headed economic notions that Kennedy must overcome.

The Capacity for Despair

★ The House killed Kennedy's farm program last week 215-205. He would have won with a switch of 5 votes. This is a classic example of the effect of seat malapportionment on legislation. Under the present House apportionment the farm areas, Democratic and Republican, have 20 to 30 more seats than population entitles them to.

We often think that anybody covering Washington must have, in the interest of survival, a fine capacity for despair. We manage to live happily here because our reservoir of despair is almost unlimited. This is a magnificent country, aching to move and prosper. But here at the seat of government we see almost every day what we regard as the most dangerous fault in America, the slow-motion stalemate inherent in our decentralized system of government. Whether it is two silly old men, carrying on a Senate-House appropriation bill feud, or the frustration of the national will in a stalemated Congress, the nation often cannot act firmly and swiftly in a world where firmness and swiftness are the price of survival. Are things any better than 40 years ago when we started to watch the slow motion merry-go-round? We can't honestly say they have improved much.

Gunning for Rostow

★ Eisenhower called last week for "the bipartisan approach to foreign affairs." This sounded noble; how it always does! We think it is mostly bunk. Fact is, Republicans are all set to launch a big election day "soft-on-Communism" drive against the Administration. They are denouncing a still unpublished policy paper by deep-thinker Walt Rostow, head of the State Department's Policy Planning Council. The *Chicago Tribune* published its version of the document and it is terribly incriminating; why it indicates that maybe we won't need a nuclear war after all! Barry Goldwater calls it "the most dangerous document in America," the GOP publication *Battle Line* sees in it "an accommodation with tyranny – a design for eventual defeat," Everett Dirksen has demanded, and got, permission for a Senate inquiry. Funny thing is they are casting Rostow as an appeaser, though he is about as hard-boiled as Dean Acheson.

Notes

★ The GOP soft-on-Communism attack probably prevents anything sensible being done about Quemoy-Matsu; we are stuck with Chiang Kai-shek who ought to be under a UN mandate. . . . There is little excuse for raising tropical sugar in the US except to subsidize a powerful farm lobby; now we are allocating the erstwhile Cuban quota (paid premium prices) to other Latin countries – giving them a vested interest in keeping Castro in power. US city suckers will pay the bill. . . . Fred Schwarz's right-wing "Christian Anti-Communist Crusade" holds a new Madison Square Garden rally this Thursday (June 28); last year his total take was $1,273,000 which makes rival Rev. Billy Hargis' "Christian Crusade" green with envy. . . . What America really needs is a "Christian Anti-Communist Christian Crusade" – there'd be millions in it.

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McNamara's Strategy

"The day of the tournament has long since passed into history. I am convinced that we would be deluding ourselves if we were to base our national policy on the assumption that any potential adversary would be restrained and rational and abide by any such rules [as not hitting cities]. In my opinion, if nuclear war begins it will be a war of extermination."

SEN. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
to the US Senate, April 11, 1962

Secretary of Defense McNamara's June 16 speech at Ann Arbor has been widely reported as a reiteration of the long-standing opposition of the United States to an "independent" French nuclear deterrent. It was far more than this. The key paragraph is: "A central military issue facing NATO today is the role of nuclear strategy. Four facts seem to dominate consideration of that role. All of them point in the direction of increased integration to achieve our common defense. First, the alliance has over-all nuclear strength adequate to any challenge confronting it. Second, this strength not only minimizes the danger of nuclear war, but makes possible a strategy designed to preserve the fabric of our societies if war should occur. Third, damage to the civil societies of the Alliance resulting from nuclear war could be very grave. Fourth, improved non-nuclear forces, well within Alliance resources, could enhance deterrence of any aggressive moves short of direct, all-out attack on Western Europe."

What can we conclude from this terse outline? Mr. McNamara seems to be saying that in the event of "direct, all-out attack on Western Europe" NATO would be unable to save the day with non-nuclear forces. NATO would therefore fall back on its nuclear weapons, the weapons which are "adequate to any challenge." This is not a novel conception. It has underpinned NATO strategy since the organization was created 13 years ago. It was repeated by President Kennedy on March 2, when he explained that we need nuclear weapons not only to deter nuclear attacks but to deter "overwhelming ground attack."

The new departure in Mr. McNamara's speech does not lie in the assumption that NATO (or to be more realistic, President Kennedy) might, under certain circumstances, initiate the use of nuclear weapons. It lies in the assumption that having done so, we might "preserve the fabric of our societies." What does the Secretary of Defense have in mind? Would not an American nuclear attack on the USSR provoke Soviet retaliation against the United States and Europe? Not

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necessarily. Mr. McNamara does not spell out the details of US military capability in this speech, as he reportedly did when addressing the NATO ministers in Athens last month. But the facts, so far as the public can determine them, are these.

The US appears to have something on the order of four times the nuclear striking power of the USSR. The exact ratio is highly classified. President Kennedy has at his disposal roughly 1,700 intercontinental bombers, 300 carrier-based bombers, 80 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, 100 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles, and 96 Polarises. Khrushchev is believed to have at hand only about 150 intercontinental bombers (plus 450-600 medium-range bombers which could, in a pinch, make one way trips to the US), 50-75 ICBM's, and a handful of submarines with surface-fired nuclear missiles. Many Air Force officers believe that our Strategic Air Command could, if ordered, knock out 80-90 percent of this Soviet nuclear force in a surprise attack. This could increase the US advantage from 4:1 to 40:1. If the SAC attack had been conducted along the lines laid down in McNamara's speech, deliberately sparing all Soviet cities which did not contain missile and air bases or vital military installations and production centers, initial Russian casualties might be as low as five million.

High noon

(Again, the exact figures are highly classified, and hotly debated; without fallout shelters the Soviets could lose far more.) Would the Russian survivors, or their leaders, want to launch their five or ten remaining missiles, their 15 or 20 remaining long-range bombers, or their 50-100 remaining intermediate-range bombers against American and European *cities*? Such an attack would encounter completely alerted US air defenses, and would probably not kill more than 30 million Americans. (This figure, too, is controversial, especially since the Soviet 60 megaton test last year.) Moreover, this action by the Soviets would, in turn, provoke SAC or Polaris reprisals against remaining Russian cities, reprisals which could kill almost everyone left in the USSR. The Soviets might, of course, launch their decimated forces against empty US missile pads and air-alerted bombers, sparing our cities, as Mr. McNamara hopes they would (since we had spared theirs). Or, as some Air Force experts think, the Soviets might choose instead to sit down at the negotiating table, seeking a peace treaty which saved both their civilians and ours. And under such circumstances the US could probably get very favorable terms.

Nobody, however, can be sure his predictions are the realistic ones. In the first place, a US decision to unleash SAC is only likely in a moment of crisis, when the Soviets have done something exceedingly provocative (*e.g.*, a massive attack on West Germany). At such a moment Russian nuclear forces would be alerted, many of their bombers would be airborne, and SAC's chance of knocking out 80-90 percent of their military forces would be greatly reduced. And having been forewarned that our response to massive conventional attack in Europe would be a first strike on the USSR, could not the Russians logically be expected to attack the US and Western Europe simultaneously?

In the second place, nobody is sure that the Soviets would act "rationally" after being on the receiving end of a nuclear strike. No matter how careful SAC was to avoid unnecessary civilian targets, many Soviet cities are too close to military targets to survive a nuclear attack intended to hit only Soviet military forces. Would the Soviets in this event coolly calculate that it was unwise of them to retaliate against US cities because this would provoke an even more violent US counter attack on Soviet cities? If one believes that Khrushchev never makes an uncalculated or emotional move, this may seem plausible. But if one recalls his shoe-pounding, his temper-tantrums, his bluster, it seems equally plausible that he might fulfill his pledge to destroy capitalism forever if the US launches a nuclear war. "Not a stone shall be left standing," he said again last week.

In the third place, the techniques used for estimating American casualties in the event the Soviet strikes our

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cities – either first or in retaliation against an initial US strike – are open to question. The publicly available studies estimate the deaths from various sources – fire, blast, radiation, etc. – but take little or no account of the pyramiding effect of chaos on casualties. The breakdown of medical services, the collapse of sanitation, the probability of epidemics, the likelihood of ecological changes (*e.g.* if radiation kills large numbers of birds, insects will run rife and create famine), all these complicating factors tend to be glossed over by those who claim, as Mr. McNamara does, that "a strategy of controlled response [a no city strategy] gives us some hope of minimizing damage."

Mr. McNamara states that America's present and future nuclear advantage "not only minimizes the danger of nuclear war, but makes possible a strategy designed to preserve the fabrics of our societies if war should occur." How is that so? How does the ability to initiate a nuclear war in response to "a massive commitment of any hostile force" (and a threat to do so) reduce the danger of war? The Secretary reasons as follows: although "a surprise nuclear attack is simply not rational for any enemy," nations often "misjudge the way others will react, and the way others will interpret what they are doing." Thus, the Soviets, miscalculating how far Americans can be pushed, may push us beyond this point and provoke a nuclear first strike. Does the question not then become: how can the US best minimize such miscalculation? Is not the danger of miscalculation increased by creating the impression that the US might initiate a nuclear first strike, expecting that the "fabric of our societies" would be preserved? Any such claim or threat seems, on the face of it, to make a first strike tempting to the Russians. The alternative, namely that we should draw the nuclear line as far back as possible, and pledge to use nuclear weapons only if the USSR uses them first, reduces the danger of miscalculation almost to zero.

So long as both sides accepted the fact that nuclear war was irrational, not to say suicidal, all either side needed was enough nuclear power to discourage the other side from going first. But from Mr. McNamara's speech, it appears that the US is trying for something more. The Administration wants enough power to be able to initiate a thermonuclear war if the West has not been able, in the President's words, to deter "an overwhelming ground attack on our forces and allies." The budget for fiscal '63 calls for more than 1,000 ICBM's by 1964, as well as sketching plans for more than 600 Polaris missiles and something like 1,000 B-52-based Skybolt air-to-ground missiles. In principle, according to the McNamara strategy, this awesome power will be used only against Soviet military targets – at least so long as they "refrain from striking our own cities." But even if the Soviets reciprocate by

FOOTNOTES *to the* WEEK

THE FUTURE of the President's health insurance for the aged bill rests with Border State Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee. The Administration is said to hope it can sell these men on a compromise, reportedly favored by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, which preserves the principle of Social Security financing, though it is precisely that principle to which the AMA most objects. A compromise might allow the elderly to opt out of the federal insurance scheme, taking a cash allowance for private insurance, or it might be compulsory but administered by Blue Cross. Most Congressmen doubt that even these concessions can muster a majority of the 25 members of Ways and Means this year. If a bill does get past Mills' committee sometime in July, Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith may be able to block it. —— THE RULES COMMITTEE *is also expected to pigeon-hole President Kennedy's Quality Education Bill, which would have attempted to improve elementary and secondary school teaching by providing federally-sponsored summer training institutes, federal grants to improve regular teacher-training programs, scholarships for experienced teachers doing advanced work, and additional research funds.* —— ECONOMIC ADVISER Walter Heller will have a shift in attitude to report to the President when he returns from the meeting of Western economic policy experts in Paris. At past sessions Dr. Heller's European opposite numbers hammered at the need for solving the US balance-of-payments problem. Now the greater worry is continued unemployment and the threat of a new recession in the US. —— A SURVEY *being conducted by the American Symphony Orchestra League shows a "tremendous" shift in community sentiment toward federal subsidy for the arts – in sharp contrast with the response to a similar poll in 1953.* —— THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION Network (NET) expects to end its tenth year of operations with 70 member stations by 1963. Only Cleveland and Los Angeles, among major cities, now lack an educational channel. —— MORE THAN *100 New York City public school teachers asked for Peace Corps applications in the first three days after the Board of Education announced it would grant leaves of absence to teachers wishing to join the Corps.* —— JEAN DANIEL, correspondent of this journal in Paris, writing in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs*, warns that if the Soviet Union and China are not to be the beneficiaries of Algerian independence, the US and France "must reinvest the profits of investments on the spot . . . We must accept African solidarity and neutralism."

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hitting only European and US military targets, this would still mean the destruction of a very great number of cities, especially in Europe because of the population density. And would not the passion for revenge take over at that point? If it did, the Air Force would have at its disposal a greatly enhanced capacity for total destruction. What then of the "controlled response"?

Let the Consumer Pay

The defeat of the Administration's farm bill signalled a turn in the non-partisan politics of agriculture in this country. One party voted solidly against it; the only stray in the ranks of the Republicans was a Congressman who had lost a primary fight in his own district and was not up for reelection. The Republicans were joined by a fraction of the conservative southern Democrats and this default (which was smaller than had been expected) was enlarged by an unusual number of midwestern and eastern Democrats who, unexpectedly, helped to vote down the bill by the modest but unequivocal majority of 215-205. When this result was announced, Mr. Cooley, the Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, which had so painfully pieced the bill together over many weeks of sittings, and postponed a Committee vote on it three times before a majority could be secured to report it out for consideration by the entire House, sprang to his feet: "Mr. Speaker, I ask for a recapitulation of the vote."

The Speaker: "Does the gentleman insist on his request for a recapitulation?"

Mr. Cooley: "Yes, Mr. Speaker, I insist upon it."

The Speaker: "The Chair feels that the vote is not sufficiently close to order a recapitulation."

Mr. Cooley: "All right, Mr. Speaker. I withdraw the request."

The meaning of this colloquy was that in the Speaker's opinion a repetition of the vote would have led to an even larger majority against the bill. Up to that time the most rigorous party discipline had been imposed by the leaders on both sides. Nevertheless, although the Republicans were in the minority, they prevailed. When it was clear that their Party's bill was lost, still more Democratic Congressmen might join them. For the harsh truth of the matter is that the Administration's formula for strict controls over the chief surplus-producing crops, although the first sensible approach in years to the farm problem, was not attractive to some southern farming communities which have developed new dairy, livestock and poultry enterprises in recent years and feared it would have raised the price of their basic raw material, which is feed grain. For the same reason, northeastern Republican Congressmen representing rural constituencies with well-established farms of that type argued violently against it from the outset. As for the midwestern Republicans, whose constituents grow most of the food and feed grain raised in this country, many were dissatisfied with the control features in the bill for another reason. The higher prices offered them under the legislation did not make up, in their judgment, for the losses they would suffer through the planned reduction of their output. And anyway, this was another opportunity to humiliate Mr. Kennedy.

This was a farm bill devised, in the first instance, for the benefit of the larger public which has had to pay to maintain surplus production up to now. The purpose of it was to save the country, as the President and Secretary Freeman asserted repeatedly, $1 billion of public expenditure throughout the next four years. Because the farmers were divided on this issue, the Republicans could make a party matter of it and drew along a sufficient number of Democrats to assure its defeat despite the most energetic efforts of the White House and the House leadership.

The economy of agriculture has dwindled to such a degree in the US (only eight percent of the people are left in farming now) that the farm problem is no longer a bread-and-butter issue anywhere. The Republicans have chosen, however, to express their ideological differences with big-city Democrats, in terms of farm policy. They want "no controls"; in other words freedom for the farmer paid for by the other 92 percent of the population. This means that the current "emergency" price legislation which costs the government over $1 billion annually to secure an altogether inadequate reduction in food and feed grain production will be continued for at least one more year. And after that? It depends on the kind of Congress elected this fall.

The Public Transit Image

Talk about improved public transportation for our cities has stirred the highway people to a frenzy of accelerated activity. In New York they are pushing hard for a $100 million Lower Manhattan Crosstown Expressway. In Washington, D. C., the Highway Department has suddenly decided to triple its budget requests for this year. It aims to "catch up" with several downtown inner-loop projects which were originally scheduled for construction several years hence and conceived before Congress set up the National Capital Transportation Agency to balance the freeways with public transit. In most of the other 30 metropolitan areas where major transportation studies are now underway, the highway departments seem intent to beat the subways and tramways to it.

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It's a silly race which the highways may win but the commuters won't. The horrible example of Los Angeles, to name but one, has proved that paving a city with freeways is apt to create only more traffic jams and does not reduce the eight and a half hours a week the average American spends getting to and from work. It does, however, demolish residential neighborhoods, violate parks and playgrounds and remove much valuable property from the tax rolls. One of those spaghetti-like intersections often consumes 25 acres of valuable space. And, as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in New York and Polly Shackleton, Democratic National Committeewoman for the District of Columbia, have pointed out, the acquisition of right-of-ways ejects thousands of poor people from their homes.

Such protests, however, seem to make little impression. The highway boys say they'll relocate the homeless somehow and bully right ahead, secure in the knowledge that millions of frustrated drivers are cheering them on. The vision of tearing through the heart of town in the privacy of one's own car at 40 miles an hour has an almost hedonistic appeal. The ugly word "rapid transit," on the other hand, generally evokes nothing but nightmarish associations of being squeezed, pushed and trampled amidst a mob of sweating humanity into a dirty, suffocating and deafening New York subway train.

Statistical studies and exhortations about the City Beautiful are not going to sway the public. Nor is it enough vaguely to promise "attractive-looking, well-lighted, well-ventilated, quiet, smoothly-operating vehicles operating at such service levels as to permit the minimum number of standees," as a press release from the National Capital Transportation Agency did recently. During World War II, when gas rationing kept cars off the roads, the "standees" brightened their rapid transit rides to work by reading the institutional ads of the automobile industry, which promised those slick, finny cars of the future smoothly gliding along endless highways. The public could hardly wait.

Where are the ads of the subway car manufacturers holding up similarly titillating visions? Where are the news and feature stories from the transit agencies telling us in words and pictures what mid-20th Century public transportation would look, feel and smell like and what those "service levels" would do for us?

Kennedy in Mexico

John F. Kennedy's two day visit to Mexico beginning June 29 is in a time-honored tradition. Since the FDR era, each new American President has called on his Mexican counterpart and *vice versa*. If the occasions are more than ceremonial, they are less than epoch-making. The truth is that relations between the two countries have changed little since 1938, when the Cardenas government seized the oil properties of US companies and President Roosevelt refused to support the oil companies' retaliatory campaign.

Still, the students will demonstrate in Mexico City, shouting "Kennedy No, Jacqueline Si." Old resentments flicker to life when there is provocation. And the latest provocation has been provided by Cuba. Though President Adolfo Lopez Mateos has no sympathy for Castro, Mexico is not now nor will it be in the foreseeable future prepared to abandon its principle of nonintervention; it is this principle which caused Mexican diplomats to oppose the exclusion of the Fidel Castro government from the Organization of American States.

There is the matter of raw materials. Like all Latin American countries, Mexico would like higher and more stable prices for coffee, cotton, lead, zinc. It lives in dread of the day when excess American stocks might tempt Washington to dump US surpluses of such commodities onto the world market. Specifically, Mexico would like assurances that repeated attempts to raise tariff barriers against Mexican ores will be blocked. President Lopez Mateos must also consider the question of his country's economic future in face of the European Common Market, which poses for Latin America the danger of losing its Old World markets to the Africans. Should the US become more closely associated with the Common Market and participate in its program of purchasing African raw materials, the consequences in Latin America could be serious.

The Alliance for Progress is another item on the agenda. Mexico has already consummated the agrarian and fiscal reforms which are the prerequisite for receiving aid under the Kennedy program. Is it to be rewarded or penalized by the Alliance for its accomplishments? In turn Mr. Kennedy may wonder if the US can count on the good offices of Lopez Mateos to persuade other Latin American governments of the need to instigate and carry out reforms in their countries. Friendly pressure from Mexico would be much better received than financial pressure from the Alliance, which is to say from Washington.

It is also possible that the Mexican President – who makes no secret of his sympathy for the Spanish Republicans – may point out to Mr. Kennedy that many Latin Americans find it difficult to believe in the sincerity of the Alliance's reforming zeal and democratic objectives so long as US policy toward Spain is not more clearly divorced from the support of Franco.

There are lesser problems which, though minor, generate some heat in Mexico: the contaminated water that is dumped on the lands of lower California by rivers flowing from the US; the working conditions for the "braceros," those Mexican farm workers who

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swarm into our Southwestern states by the hundreds of thousands every summer; and finally, the US proposal to annul the premium price on sugar which the US used to pay to Cuba and which now benefits those countries (including Mexico) which have fallen heir to the sugar import quotas taken from Castro.

Equal Opportunity

Vice President Johnson's reply to the *New York Times* story on a split within the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity between advocates of "voluntary" and "compulsory" approaches both denies the existence of controversy and suggests reasons why a variety of tactics is necessary. He is on sound ground in the latter position, for "hard" sanctions are, as he points out, unavailable to the government when dealing with firms not engaged under federal contract, and cannot be used directly against discriminatory practices in trade unions. In the instance of craft unions which bar Negro members, about all that government and employers can do is try to persuade them to change their ways. Yet this does not dispose of the matter.

Assuming the accuracy of the *Times* report (and the Vice President did not challenge this), committee member Robert Troutman's voluntary program enrolls business firms that are subject to hard sanctions as well as those that are not. The article quotes the energetic Mr. Troutman as stating generally that, "compulsion is not the thing." Does that mean that it is never the thing? The work of persuading employers to end discriminatory hiring practices is desirable, but it is supplementary to the main business of the under-financed and under-staffed committee, which is the systematic and even-handed enforcement of contractual obligations.

Furthermore, however many devices are used by the committee, there is need for close coordination of them all. Yet Mr. Troutman did not even bother to submit his report and his proposal for turning his voluntary program over to a businessman's council to the staff director of the President's Committee – who is, after all, the logical coordinator. Indeed, Mr. Troutman has been building a virtually autonomous organization within an organization.

There is, then, conflict. It should be resolved, not papered over by the Vice President. Persuasion should be tried where sanctions are not available, not as a substitute where they are. Its use should be under careful and continuous review by the staff director in any case, for it involves the danger inherent in all such programs by declaration: that the words will not be followed by deeds. The reality of this danger is shown by the fact that only six of 52 signatories to Mr. Troutman's "Plans for Progress" have told the President's Committee what they have done to carry out their pledges.

The Surfeit Society: *Novus Ordo Seclorum*

As a result of Senator Symington's hearings on the strategic stockpile, the symbolism of the pyramid on the Great Seal of the United States takes on piquant new meaning. It is, obviously, a surplus storage bin, the fitting emblem of *novus ordo seclorum* ("new order of the ages"). The eye cresting the pyramid, if you look at it rightly, is winking.

The strategic stockpile is a Himalayan heap of 70-odd items nominally intended to fortify national security. Since 1946, the government has paid out $8.9 billion for a storehouse of riches deposited in 210 locations and sorted into four different inventories. Originally, the objective was to provide enough extra stocks for five years, but in 1958 the target was reduced to three years, with the result that the country has an unwanted surplus costing $4.6 billion. By now, the US has a four-year supply of natural rubber costing $844 million and swiftly deteriorating in quality. There is enough copper and aluminum to last about three years, enough tin for five years, enough lead for ten years and seven times as much zinc as the government says it needs. A closer peek into the cupboard disclosed 223,649,000 pounds of castor oil – a ten-year supply, presumably for industrial uses – and 10,885,000 pounds of waterfowl feathers, an ample cushion for some years.

What Mr. Symington's investigators have placed on the record is evidence of the extent to which the strategic stockpile was used as a price-support mechanism for private industry. The government's estimates as to how much lead or zinc it needed tended to fluctuate with the needs of the market. Moreover, companies were able to get out of their obligations to sell to the government; when prices were low, a firm could patriotically fatten the stockpile and when prices rose deliveries could be deferred and a windfall profit earned by selling to private industry.

In a creditably candid lapse, Felix E. Wormser conceded that price-support motives played a part in stockpile decisions. Mr. Wormser was an Assistant Secretary of the Interior during the Eisenhower Administra-

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tion; he came to Washington from the St. Joseph Lead Company and when his tour was completed he returned as vice president of the same firm. Nothing improper, of course; that's just the way the game has been played. The bill for the taxpayer, just for unneeded lead and zinc, was $200 million.

No less than Mr. Billie Sol Estes, the stockpile hearings serve as a token of the surplus mentality that has come to pervade American society. We have become a stockpile society, and the government and consumer are expected to pick up the tab for a comfortable margin of waste. The public – need it be repeated? – is paying about $1 billion a year to meet the storage costs for our agricultural surpluses. Congress is in continuing conflict with the Administration over the need to produce bomber planes. Just as in the case of the strategic materials, a bomber stockpile might conceivably come in handy in some remote circumstance; it is only a coincidence that a pile of unwanted bombers might keep employment high at certain aircraft factories.

The merchant marine has its own "stockpile" in the form of vast subsidies for both the building and operation of ships, all of course for the national defense. Domestic oil producers run a different kind of stockpile; the Texas Railroad Commission, out of a diligent concern for preserving oil reserves for national security, sets production figures for petroleum that coincidentally reflect market factors. Book, newspaper and magazine publishers have a postal "stockpile" in the form of a deficit that they have come to regard as rightful federal contribution to a worthy cause.

Taxpayers will spend nearly $50 billion – maybe much more – on the new interstate highway system, a horizontal stockpile that spreads its benefits broadly to contractors, to producers of basic materials like steel and oil, to the trucking industry and car manufacturers.

In the private economy, planned obsolescence feeds a different kind of stockpile. Three mathematical economists recently performed an analytic tour de force by calculating how much the public has paid for Detroit's annual model changes. In the 1956-60 half-decade, each new car buyer paid an extra $725 for the right to have a taller tailfin than the fellow next door. According to the careful estimates of Franklin M. Fisher, Zvi Griliches and Carl Kaysen, as presented to the American Economic Association's annual meeting, over the past decade Detroit has spent $33.7 billion mainly to increase the length, weight, horsepower and advertising of its new models, and to pay for the retooling needed for such novelties as power steering and musical horns that may yet – in accord with national defense needs – play *God Bless America*.

The irony is that despite this staggering affluence in some sectors, this amiable tolerance for waste, this putting aside for a rainy day, the American economy's growth rate is sluggish and vital public services are starved. As one reflects on the stockpile mentality, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the answer lies in transferring the surplus concept to schools, health and social welfare. If we could prefabricate schoolrooms for a national defense stockpile, a powerful lobby would swiftly take form with a vested interest in government partnership to "stabilize" the market and produce more schools than the entire world could use. In this way, America may yet devise a new kind of socialism – surplus socialism. The Webbs, if I remember rightly, saw socialism coming to Britain via the sewer pipe; it may come to America through the warehouse.

KARL E. MEYER

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THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THEIR CHANCELLOR

They're Starting To Talk Back

Bonn

When the Christian Democratic Party, which has been in power for the whole 13 years of the Federal Republic's existence, met in Dortmund the first week of June, a leading South German newspaper, the *Muenchner Merkur*, wrote an article explaining that Dr. Adenauer's prestige was as high as ever and that he still had a reasonably united and obedient party behind him. The careful debate which would take place in Dortmund, the *Merkur* considered, would imply no division in the party ranks but only an increased sense of responsibility. The installation of the new "strong man" of the party, Hermann-Josef Dufhues, to control its internal affairs, was only taking place because Dr. Adenauer wanted a "kind of public relations manager" and coordinator. The paper summed it up by saying that Adenauer would direct Dufhues, and that he would

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determine his successor in the Chancellorship in his own good time.

In reality, the three-day Christian Democratic Party Congress taught very different lessons from those outlined by the *Merkur*. For months past Adenauer's prestige has been on the decline, among the West German electorate as a whole as well as in his own party. The Chancellor has been in poor health during the early months of this year. He has had to take two holidays in Northern Italy since Christmas, the second one lasting nearly six weeks. Understandably, he has been out of touch with public feeling even more than with political events. Confidence in him was shaken by his public utterances disparaging American proposals for a solution of the Berlin problem and throwing doubt on Britain's entry into the Common Market. At the Dortmund congress, Adenauer had to reassert his authority. On the first day of the congress it looked as if he might do so; by the end of it, it was clear that the Chancellor-by-universal-acclamation had become a Chancellor-on-sufferance.

To understand what is happening it must be remembered that Adenauer's domination of his party has in the past been absolute. There has been grumbling in private, but his critics have always fallen silent in public. One Bundestag deputy, Peter Nellen, dared to raise his voice in public against the Chancellor. He was forced out of the party. Two years ago, when Adenauer went back on his decision to become President, it looked for a moment as if his Vice Chancellor, Ludwig Erhard, would raise the banner of revolt. Erhard had to eat the few bold words he had spoken. Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss, it was confidently predicted last autumn, would back the Free Democrats in their effort to oust Adenauer from the Chancellorship and install Erhard. Whatever he had said in private, Strauss did nothing of the kind. Authoritarian democracy, it seemed, had made the Christian Democrats yes-men.

The Dortmund congress changed that, and for good. Out of 461 party members, 70 (as against 14 two years ago) refused to vote for Adenauer's candidature for the chairmanship (which he has held for 15 years). Erhard and Dufhues both got bigger votes of confidence, in their posts of deputy-chairman and general-manager. But much more revealing were the things which were said openly and boldly.

The new Foreign Minister, Gerhard Schroeder, called for friendlier relations with Eastern Euopean countries – a project which has never appealed to Adenauer. Schroeder poured scorn on the idea of building up Europe into a political Third Force which could be independent of the United States. Yet this idea emanates from General de Gaulle, whom Adenauer has backed through thick and thin. Schroeder, again, energetically sponsored Britain's entry into the Common Market. Only a day before, Adenauer had punctuated his half-hearted support for Britain's entry with the meaningless remark that the Common Market "could not digest the enormous Commonwealth." (It has not been asked to.)

The President of the Bundestag, Eugen Gerstenmaier, asked in clear terms for an appropriate and timely solution of the question of Adenauer's successor. Adenauer has steadily set his face against naming a successor. A junior party member, a Herr Peter from the Rhine-Palatinate, went much further. He urged Adenauer to retire, while his political powers were not declining, and spoke of the "deep concern" over this issue in the party ranks. "Better two years too early than one day too late," was Peter's unsolicited advice. Such a remark would have been unthinkable at any previous party congress.

Dufhues gave an assurance that his post would not be a sinecure. In a speech that was full of power he claimed that he would not restrict himself to organizational matters. What the party needed was clear political concepts – and Dufhues paused on the word "political." The party had to cease being a mere appendage to the Federal Government, registering its edicts with solid votes of approval in the Bundestag. The party had to gather ideas as well as members, to produce positive thought and to share in the government. One paper depicted Adenauer and Dufhues as a bell and its clapper, and Adenauer as saying, "I still sound the note." Dufhues sees things very differently; to him the Christian Democratic Party has to be the bell, and the Chancellor the clapper.

In some degree, the movement toward making the party more self-aware, more active, in fact more democratic, has come largely from its junior members. But Schroeder, Gerstenmaier and others (notably Erhard and the former Federal Minister of Finance, Etzel) spoke their minds freely in Dortmund. They will be even readier to do so in the future.

Two trends should be watched carefully. The first will be the trend toward greater expression, as well as diversity of opinion within the party. The second will be a growing lack of diffidence among members of Adenauer's Cabinet, who have now been given a lead by Schroeder. The Adenauer era is not yet over, but it has entered its final phase. And during that phase, preceding his retirement, the Christian Democratic Party must emerge as a real force in its own right if it is to win the 1965 Federal election. This will be all to the good for German democracy in the long run. However necessary a benevolent despotism based on democratic forms may have been until now, the West Germans must prepare themselves for a time when they are not utterly dependent on a brilliant patriarch.

Terence Prittie

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TVA in Space?

Asher Brynes Replies to His Critics

The Administration's Communications Satellite Bill has passed the House by a vote of 354 to 9, and I shall be surprised if the Senate does not give it almost as strong an endorsement. However, Senator Kefauver and Rep. William Fitts Ryan remain adamantly opposed, and it is on their joint critique three weeks ago of my earlier article on "Big Business in Space" (*NR*, April 23, 1962) that I wish specifically to comment.

They say that since the US Government has spent the most dollars on research and development of a communications satellite system, the government should own, operate and collect the revenues from this promising technology for the benefit of all taxpayers. In its generalized form, the proposition that government ownership should follow from public investment is unconvincing. The government has paid for the bulk of the organized agricultural research in this country for more than a century, yet few seriously argue from this that it should own and operate the nation's farms. The case for public ownership must rest not on who in the past paid for what, but on a clear showing of public benefit. The decisive question is whether consumers will get a better long-distance telephone service at lower cost if the space communications facility is owned and operated by the government. This Senator Kefauver and Congressman Ryan do not answer directly. What they point out correctly is that if the Administration's space communications bill (which provides for private ownership but government representation on a board of directors, as well as FCC regulation) is enacted, private investors will ultimately take a profit from the system.

Granted profits will be made, but when? The earliest full year of operation of the system will be 1965, and according to a RAND Corporation study for the National Aeronautics and Space Agency the first profits for anybody will be earned in 1969 or 1970. Well, the skeptic may ask, if such profits will be long delayed and remain modest for some time thereafter, why are the international communications companies, headed by that super-corporation, the AT&T, so much interested in owning and operating the system? The answer, and I find it plausible, is that the demand for the services of communications companies is increasing at a steady pace; they will need additional communications channels for ordinary telephone, facsimile, data and TV transmissions. Since they cannot handle transoceanic TV transmission with the conventional equipment now in operation, ownership of the space communications facility would not only permit an expansion of their capacity to handle current business, but a breakthrough into a new field. This the two Congressmen do not mention.

They are impressed, rather, by the fact that unless the government owns the communications satellite system, foreign governments will have to negotiate with a semi-private enterprise. Agreements will have to be reached for two-way telephone circuits over the space facility and also, particularly in the case of the underdeveloped countries, for what must in the beginning be one-way TV circuits. Well, why not? Up to now, the communications industry has had notable success in negotiating with many countries, including the Soviet Union, for the exchange of two-way telephone services. Indeed, the *present* arrangement in this conventional area of communications are not something the two Congressmen wish to upset – at least so far as the developed nations are concerned; they do not complain about it. But what about the servicing of new, low-profit or no-profit areas by a communications satellite?

They say twice over that "AT&T has already indicated a reluctance to go into underdeveloped areas regardless of our foreign policy objectives without any additional government subsidy." And again, "why did AT&T's Vice President demand a government subsidy for any non-profit operations?" These statements deserve an answer. No AT&T Vice President, so far as I can discover, has asked for a subsidy at any of the hearings on the satellite communications bill; and the company did not indicate a reluctance to go into underdeveloped areas unless such a subsidy were paid. Furthermore, it is the policy of AT&T to provide service to any country, no matter how small, if the Department of State requests that such service be provided. The only requirement is that a telephone network should be there to receive the messages from the United States. At the moment 163 countries and foreign areas are tied into the US telephone system under separate agreements, with the result that US telephones can be connected with 98 percent of the world's telephones.

Long-distance TV circuits through the future space communications facility should pose no new problems between the industry and the developed countries of the free world. Coaxial cables are used to connect TV circuits between this country and Canada for instance; and there will be more links of that kind when the

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space communications system is in operation. The possibility of arranging for circuits between the US and the USSR and the Soviet bloc generally might, in my opinion, be more easily arranged by a private company than any official agency. There is a certain prudence in having the government once-removed from the negotiations. If disagreements develop at a lower level, they can always be bucked up to a higher, official level.

Of course TV transmissions to countries without any receiving stations of their own, or enough TV sets, will involve a measure of foreign aid. Somebody will have to provide the electronic machinery. Since the communications industry does not furnish TV sets to stations and consumers here, I do not suppose the two Congressmen expect the domestic industry to provide it in distant places. And it is certain that the US Information Agency will have to pay for the use of the space communications facility when it sponsors, for instance, a US telecast to Nigeria or the Congo. But so will the military. The Defense Department will use the new facility for the transmission of non-secret messages that it cannot handle over its own worldwide system, and pay too.

A recent release by the Defense Department throws some light on this question of costs and the related matter of the "taxpayers' equitable property rights in any commercially usable satellite system" because of the government's expenditures on research and development. "By the end of fiscal year 1963," Senator Kefauver and Representative Ryan say, "the federal government, NASA and the Department of Defense will have spent over $470 million on space communications satellite research and equipment." This figure includes money budgeted as well as money spent, I may add. Even so, their figure may be too large by about $200 million, or 48 percent of the total expenditures forecast by the two Congressmen.

The Department of Defense has just announced that the Army's *Advent* project (a synchronous or high-altitude communications satellite system) has been abandoned. It was budgeted for $224 million, of which $170 million had been already spent. *Advent* was a satellite of the advanced type upon which Senator Kefauver has built much of his case against the AT&T, which at the present time prefers to experiment with a simpler system. He has expressed strong apprehension that the installation of a low-altitude system requiring 30-50 satellites of the simpler type may freeze the state of the art until AT&T has paid for its initial investment. The delay in developing the high altitude system does not, however, appear to have anything to do with protecting AT&T's investment. The problems are technical, and it now appears unlikely that a high system can be made workable in the next few years no matter who pays for it. Army scientists found that as they experimented with the high satellite it grew heavier and heavier, until it finally weighed 1,300 pounds. And NASA's advanced Atlas-Centaur rocket, which was to loft it into the sky in 1963, has suffered setbacks that have led to a postponement too; it may be ready in 1966. So in order to "hedge its bets" (that is the way the Defense Department spokesman phrased it) the Department will put up what it terms a "medium-altitude system" which resembles the simpler type favored by the communications industry.

When the Defense Department spokesman was asked how much of the $170 million spent on *Advent* would be lost he was unable to say "except to point out that some of the technology would be incorporated into the new satellite." It should be remembered that the Department is interested in developing a space communications facility of its own primarily because it needs a system that will handle secret messages, coded and transmitted in a form designed to protect them, electronically, against enemy jamming. A comparable civilian facility, the Department estimates would be able to handle 10 times as many ordinary voice transmissions or telephone messages. Consequently, only a part of the hardware developed for the *Advent* satellite could have been useful in a civilian system – if *Advent* had been successfully completed.

The two Congressmen charge the Administration with a "giveaway" of something useful and valuable, like a site for the generation of hydroelectric power, or timber or mineral resources on public land. This argument is of dubious relevance. The bulk of the government's expenditures on space communications research and development has been allocated to specialized projects for the military. On the other hand practically all of the basic contributions to space communications

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technology – the transistor, the solar battery, negative feedback circuitry and the other developments enumerated in my previous article – were produced by the communications industry itself. The very idea of space communications was first put forward eight years ago by one of the industry's outstanding scientists, John R. Pierce, in a technical study that is still a valid guide to the problems that will challenge researchers in this field over the rest of the present decade.

Is not the issue, finally, whether the government can effectively manage a type of production that does not yet have a time-tested technology? The TVA was set up to control floodwaters and generate electric power by conventional methods, with conventional machinery. For this reason alone the wonderful achievement of the TVA is irrelevant to the problem of public management of space communications facilities in the present state of the art; the two things are essentially dissimilar. So is the reference by the Congressmen to the Teapot Dome scandal of the 20's. In that case there was actually government oil in the ground, which a few federal officials gave away; in the present instance there is no space communications facility.

The Congressmen say they are alarmed by the "suggestion" that if the future space facility and the existing land-based communications systems are operated under a similar type of management, the utilization of these two facilities will be more effectively coordinated. Why is this alarming? May I remind them that the communications industry now functions as each telephone user's agent in deciding whether to route his call over microwave (wireless) or land line or cable facilities. If any one of these should, at a given time, be overloaded or provide a poor connection, the industry is responsible for putting through a connection that meets acceptable standards of clarity. If in the first phases of its operation, a space communications facility occasionally loads the messages that are routed through it with hash, as electronics people say, the industry will shift his call to other available channels. I do not see anything reprehensible in the probable preference of the industry for the use of conventional equipment, so long as it can carry the traffic. The point is that if the industry has a direct stake in the new system, it will have as direct an interest in seeing to it that the new system operates as well as the older facilities all the time.

The kernel of the Kefauver-Ryan case, it seems to me, is a profound distrust of government regulation. "Competition," they say, "is a better regulator than regulation." They then proceed to misrepresent the President: "In his recent transportation message, for example, the President called for less regulation and more competition."

But that is only a part of what he said. What Mr. Kennedy told the Congress in his transportation message was that the railroads should be freed of rate regulation by governmental agencies when they perform services that go unregulated in trucks and barges; or, if the Congress did not like that way of providing "equality of opportunity for all forms of transportation" *it should place all truck and barge lines under similar government regulation.*

Can AT&T Be Regulated?

The regulatory agencies that operate in these areas, specifically the FCC and the ICC, were set up by Congress to protect consumers from over-priced or inadequate transportation or communications services. The logical remedy for the weakness of these two agencies (if they are indeed so ineffective as the Congressmen indicate) is more money, more staff, and perhaps more authority. But the Congressmen do not call for any of these remedies, as they well might. Instead, they propose to rely upon competition to protect the consumer's interest. Or do they? Their space communications bills provide for government ownership of the new facilities. They thus appear to be saying that if government cannot perform a simple task well, it will be able to perform a more complex one better.

All of the personages mentioned by name in the Kefauver-Ryan *New Republic* article – Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach, who drafted the Administration's bill providing for private ownership of the space communications facility; Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who defended it; James Webb, NASA Administrator, who contracted with AT&T to put up their privately-owned communications satellites with government rockets; and Dr. E. C. Welch, Executive Director of the President's Space Council – all of them stand opposed, on the record, to the Kefauver-Ryan approach.

Let me end with the remark made by Mr. Katzenbach when he testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Communications on April 26: "Senator Kefauver, as I understood him, seemed to feel in some way the antitrust laws were suspended by the creation of this [privately owned space communications] corporation. That is certainly not the view of the Department of Justice. They aren't in any sense suspended. The antitrust laws apply to what is done in this corporation, to any conspiracies which are created with an intent to dominate or to lessen competition. Indeed, the whole thrust of the Department of Justice's participation in this bill [providing for private ownership] has been to make the communications system more competitive and to use this as a device for insuring that no single carrier would get monopoly control over this great new satellite system. We believe that this bill as drafted accomplishes that purpose insofar as it is possible to accomplish it."

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Algeria and Mississippi

Algeria gives the United States just cause for resentment against France, precisely as Mississippi gives France just cause for resentment against the United States. Events in Algeria are grist to the mills of the White Citizens' Councils. They can point to Algeria as evidence of the hopelessness of trying to impose civilization upon a population that finds barbarism both pleasant and profitable. Algeria, they can assert, convicts the United States Supreme Court of fatuity in presuming to try to civilize Mississippi.

The perfectest hell of it, to borrow Kipling's phrase, is that they have a point. The basic difference between the combatants in Algeria is theological. In Mississippi it is biological. Modern Americans are committed to the dubious theory that theological differences are essentially shallower, hence more readily adjustable than biological dissimilarities. Therefore, they argue, if France has an impossible problem in Algeria, what can you expect in Mississippi?

The argument, of course, is sophistical. To begin with, the Algerian French face the certainty of Moslem numerical domination in an independent Algeria. White Mississippians outnumber black by four to three, so Negro domination of the state is a theoretical possibility, but not an immediate certainty unless, indeed, the intellectual potential of the average Mississippi Negro exceeds that of the average white; in which case it may be argued that the Negroes ought to dominate.

The harsh fact is that in both regions a dominant caste has been living comfortably and pleasantly by exploitation of a subjugated group, Moslems in Algeria, Negroes in Mississippi. The enlightened view is that life would be more comfortable and more pleasant for everybody if social justice were established; but realists are aware that social justice cannot be established without very hard work and formidable expense, both continued for a long time. To laziness and greed, therefore, it offers a distasteful prospect; so laziness and greed oppose it with a disconcerting viciousness.

The guilt of metropolitan France may be no greater than that of the American republic, but circumstances have rendered it more glaring. Certainly the White Citizens' Councils have sympathizers in Minnesota, as the ostentatious Secret Army has sympathizers in Normandy; but at least the paratroopers that Eisenhower sent into Little Rock could be relied on. There was no fear that their officers would either revolt against Washington or stand by idly while the mob sacked the city. The most ardent Northern advocates of segregation are hardly ready to tolerate lynching in its support; and there is very little doubt that if rioters fire on the United States Army the fire will be returned, and with ball ammunition, too. For that excellent reason it has not been fired on and is not likely to be.

The dismay that the Algerian catastrophe has spread in this country is, in fact, not so much over what has occurred there as over the revelation of how uncertain is the Army's loyalty to the Republic. Its loyalty to de Gaulle has thus far proved barely sufficient; when he passes, whom will it obey?

From our standpoint, this is far from a rhetorical question. The situation in France is one that we are assured might develop in this country; and the assurance came from a man who is not only a political leader but was for most of his life a professional soldier – Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Eisenhower – by act of Congress no longer Mister, but again General of the Army – sees the possibility in this country of a coalition of big industry and a military caste that would be a standing threat to republican institutions at least as great as the threat that a similar coalition offers to the French Republic. The bulwark against that is rigorous civilian control of the armed forces; but when that control is applied, even to as slight an extent as forbidding officers to make public speeches denouncing the policies of their commander-in-chief, certain Congressmen raise a terrific hub-hub.

It is not without significance that the politician most active in this line is Thurmond, of South Carolina, representing a state that is, after Mississippi, the most bitterly segregationist in the Union. The segregationists are not fastidious about their allies; they will accept help from any quarter, as readily as the Secret Army would. If a combination with militarists and monopolists seems to offer them some advantage, is it credible that they will reject it merely because it is a threat to the Republic? Look at Algeria for an answer.

Huey Long once remarked that when Fascism came to this country it would come under the name of anti-Fascism. He might have added that when the really implacable enemies of democracy appear, they always appear in the guise of super-patriots.

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Irving Brant

Spare the Iron Rod

Academic freedom is not the only casualty when incompetence is the pretext for firing a teacher whose real crime is having been suspected of disloyalty.

From a routine news standpoint, the refusal of the Supreme Court on June 11 to review the dismissal of William Soler from the Philadelphia school system did not merit more than the few lines it got in a few newspapers. A school teacher who in 1953 refused to answer questions about alleged past membership in the Communist Party had been discharged after teaching English for 24 years, on the ground of alleged "incompetency." The Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas had ordered him reinstated, saying that he should have been tried by the Board of Education under the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act, which calls for "a fair preponderance of the evidence" that the person accused "is a subversive person." The Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversed the lower court in 1961 and two weeks ago the US Supreme Court denied certiorari.

A similar case (*Beilan v Board of Education*) involving discharge for "incompetency," when the real issue was "loyalty" or "Communism," had come before the Supreme Court in 1958. In this case too, the Court upheld Beilan's dismissal, 5-4, with Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan dissenting.

The Court's membership has changed since 1958, and the Soler brief specifically asked for reversal of the Beilan decision. It may be doubted, however, whether the facts of either case figured in the rejection of the appeal. A case can be brought to the Supreme Court for review if four Justices so desire, but reasons for refusing it are not stated and there may be as many reasons as there are Justices. In Soler's case there was probably a fatal procedural flaw. Relying on a prior decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court sharply restricting the meaning of "incompetency," his lawyers did not raise the issue of federal constitutional rights until after they had lost the case.

The Supreme Court, therefore, has not passed on the "due process" aspects of the Soler case even by implication, but there are features of that case and probable results from it which neither the courts nor the country can afford to overlook. To understand what is involved we must recall the circumstances of Beilan's and Soler's dismissal in Philadelphia in 1953.

Both Beilan and Soler were discharged for "incompetency" allegedly uncovered in interviews with their superintendent. Beilan had refused to answer questions about his loyalty; Soler had refused to answer them unless they were submitted to him in advance. Yet neither was fired at the time of the interview, nor were any charges officially made against them. But late in 1953, five months after Soler's interview and two years after Beilan's, both appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee and, along with 24 other teachers, took the Fifth Amendment. Two days later all 26 were fired. The courts upheld the contention that their taking the Fifth Amendment had nothing to do with their discharge.

The 26 teachers may be entitled to scant personal sympathy. Most of them undoubtedly were members of the Philadelphia local that was kicked out of the American Federation of Teachers in 1941 because of Communist affiliations. The question, however, is whether the procedures used in Philadelphia against William Soler violated "due process."

The facts of the Soler case can best be stated as they are found in the opinion of Chief Justice Bell of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. On May 28, 1953, Soler was called to the office of Dr. Hoyer, Superintendent of Schools, and was told that Hoyer had certain information with "an important bearing upon [his] loyalty," and wished to question him. Soler "asked Dr. Hoyer to give him a list or statement of the proposed questions since he desired to consult his attorney before deciding whether to answer them." Dr. Hoyer gave him a sample question, whether he "had been an active Communist in January of 1952." Soler consulted his lawyer and "answered in the negative." Then, as Judge Bell states it: "Appellee further stated that before he would answer any similar questions he desired the opportunity to be supplied with the questions, so that he could again take them to his attorney for consultation. Dr. Hoyer refused to accede to his request, at which point *appellee refused to answer any further questions dealing*

IRVING BRANT'S *six volume biography of President Madison has recently been brought to completion with publication of* James Madison, Commander-in-Chief.

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with his alleged loyalty." [Italics here and below are in Bell's opinion.]

Soler was asked only one question, and answered it. The refusal related to questions that were not asked. Chief Justice Bell at the end of his opinion came back to this refusal as the conclusive element in the case:

"What he did was, as above stated, to ask that before he was required to answer similar questions he be permitted the opportunity of consulting counsel. That request was refused, and *Soler then refused to answer further questions relating to his loyalty.*

"Soler was not on trial for a criminal offense or a Pechan Act offense [the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act concerning disloyalty in teachers] nor was he before a Congressional investigating committee. He was here being questioned by his administrative superior in private. He has no right to be represented by counsel or to demand a list of questions to be asked, *when questioned by his employer to determine his competency.* To contend that a teacher can insist that a professional interview with his superior shall be conducted *only on the teacher's terms* is unreasonable and ignores and *effectually negates* the relationship between teacher and superior. Soler's refusal to answer his administrative superior was unjustified and is ground for a finding of incompetency."

Substantially the same question arose in England in 1607, when the House of Commons asked the Lords of Council of Whitehall "in what cases the Ordinary [an archbishop or bishop exercising 'ordinary' jurisdiction over subordinates and laymen] may examine any person ex officio on oath." The Lords passed the question along to Chief Justice Popham of the King's Bench and to Chief Justice Coke of the Court of Common Pleas (who still ranks as the greatest of all exponents of the English common law). They replied:

"1. That the Ordinary cannot constrain any man, ecclesiastical or temporal, to answer generally to such interrogatories as shall be administered unto him; but ought to deliver to him the articles upon which he is to be examined, to the intent that he may know whether he ought by the law to answer them. And so is the course of the Star Chamber and Chancery."

Here is the Soler case down to the letter, with the Anglican bishop in place of the school superintendent, the teacher in place of the parish priest or layman suspected of heresy. It is an administrative relationship between superior and inferior. The bishop and the superintendent both spring questions on the subordinate. The subordinate asserts the right to see the questions in advance to determine whether he should answer them. Then comes the difference. The greatest judges in England uphold that right in every person, ecclesiastical or temporal, and point out that it exists even in the secret proceedings of the Star Chamber. American judges dismiss it offhand.

With King James I supporting the ecclesiastics, there was no way for either the House of Commons or the Chief Justices to enforce the rule of law thus laid down, which represented the ancient common law of England. But the people affected had a way. Observe the date, 1607 – one year before the "Pilgrim Fathers" of America fled to Amsterdam to escape religious persecution. It was to protect Puritans and Catholics against arbitrary inquiries into heresy that Coke and Popham declared the right of every man to be informed beforehand of the questions that were to be asked. The connection with heresy was made clear by the two judges:

"2. No layman shall be examined *ex officio*, except in . . . matrimonial or testamentary cases . . . [which] do not concern the shame and infamy of the party, as adultery, incontinency, usury, simony, hearing of mass, heresy, etc. . . . It is not reasonable that any Ordinary upon suspicion conceived of his own fancy, without due accusation or presentment, should put any subject of this realm in infamy and slander of heresy, to the peril of life, loss of good name, or goods."

To escape the embarrassing fact that the Philadelphia Board of Education by-passed the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act in order to avoid its "due process" requirements, Chief Justice Bell denied Soler was dismissed for disloyalty and insisted that the sole issue was the administrative relationship between a school superintendent and a teacher. But to show that the "incompetency" was important enough to warrant dismissal, he let go with this resounding utterance: "Any teacher who refuses to answer the superintendent concerning questions pertaining to whether he was a sex pervert, a purveyor of narcotics, or has committed a robbery, arson, rape, or murder, could and should be dismissed as a teacher. But Communism is far worse."

Now, one might reasonably conclude that the triumph of Communism in the United States would be worse than a large number of murders, rapes, robberies, arsons, and all the other crimes listed by the judge, especially as it would not put a stop to them. But if an inquiry into one man's alleged Communism can be equated with an inquiry into an alleged murder, and if Communism is "far worse" than murder, ought not membership in the Communist Party be punishable by death or life imprisonment? The point of this *reductio ad absurdum* is the state of mind in which cases of this type are decided.

In 1554, Protestantism was worse than rape.
In 1580, Catholicism was worse than robbery.
In 1607, Puritanism was worse than arson.
In 1640, Quakerism was worse than sexual perversion, for which the penalty was also death.
In 1953, Communism was worse than murder.

To realize how great a role emotion plays in judicial

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decisions, one need but compare the Soler case with an earlier decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. With the same set of basic circumstances before it in 1960 (the discharge of another of the "Philadelphia 26" for "incompetency") the Pennsylvania judges reversed the school board's action with these words: "What the Board of Education attempted to do in these cases is to avoid the requirement of the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act that loyalty or subversion, as a ground for the discharge of a public school teacher, must be proven 'by a fair preponderance of the evidence'. The Board's action evidences a belief that it has found a way to dismiss, without any evidence at all, teachers whom it suspects of disloyalty or subversion."

Incredible as it seems, that same court one year later – with only one dissenting vote – upheld the same action it had denounced in 1960: upheld it on the flimsy pretext that nothing was involved except administrative relationships inside the school system. What was the well-spring of the change? Not, certainly, the miniscule difference that one teacher was questioned only by the House Un-American Activities Committee while the other had been questioned by the superintendent five months before he was questioned by the HUAC. The difference was passion in the Philadelphia press and public, if not in the judges.

Are the courts willing to hand the Radical Right an iron rod, and say "Beat us as well as your neighbors"? In giving any countenance whatever to the device of "incompetency" as a lawful way to evade a straightout decision on loyalty, the judges will find that they have dealt themselves a double blow. They must either abnegate their function altogether and let the modern heresy-hunters set up their own Star Chambers, or else they must invite a deluge of demands that they decide in what cases the abuse has become intolerable.

Laos–Will Neutralism Work?

by Bernard B. Fall

In the rejoicing over the recent settlement in Laos it has been conveniently forgotten that the whole mess was one of the most avoidable East-West crises on record and that it started, not in 1960 with paratroop Captain Kong-Le's *coup* but in 1957 with the sabotage by the US of the painfully contrived earlier Souvanna Phouma-Souphanouvong agreements. Souvanna Phouma, then as now Prime Minister of Laos, had in two years of negotiating with the Pathet Lao, Hanoi and Peking, arrived at an accord which was duly signed in November, 1957. It granted the pro-Communist Pathet Lao two government departments (Planning and Religious Affairs) and the integration of the two existing Pathet Lao battalions totaling about 1,500 men into the Royal Laotian Army.

While that agreement was hailed by the British and the French as about the best bargain that could be made under the circumstances, Washington released an official statement stigmatizing the coalition before it had even begun operating and asserting that the US viewed the situation with "serious concern." Even as unflinching a pro-American as Prince Sisouk Na Champassak, the Laotian UN delegate for the past several years and acting Foreign Minister of the Boun Oum-Phoumi regime, said in his extremely pro-Western book *Storm Over Laos:* "This pessimistic statement was the only discordant note in the general praise and congratulations that followed the [1957] agreements. Reaching Vientiane in the midst of her rejoicing, it created the worst possible effect for the US, one of selfish ill-temper."

But the Eisenhower Administration was soon to do more than express its "serious concern" about the coalition regime. In a series of skillful maneuvers for which the then US Ambassador to Laos and later Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, J. Graham Parsons, took full credit, the Souvanna Phouma government was thrown out of office after the May, 1958, elections and replaced – after a chaotic period of almost three months – by a moderate right-wing coalition.

The new regime, in which the future "strong man" Phoumi was still only a colonel and an under-secretary, immediately proceeded, with the wholehearted encouragement of J. Graham Parsons, to tear to shreds the November, 1957, coalition agreements. When the Pathet Lao, which had won a total of 13 seats out of 59

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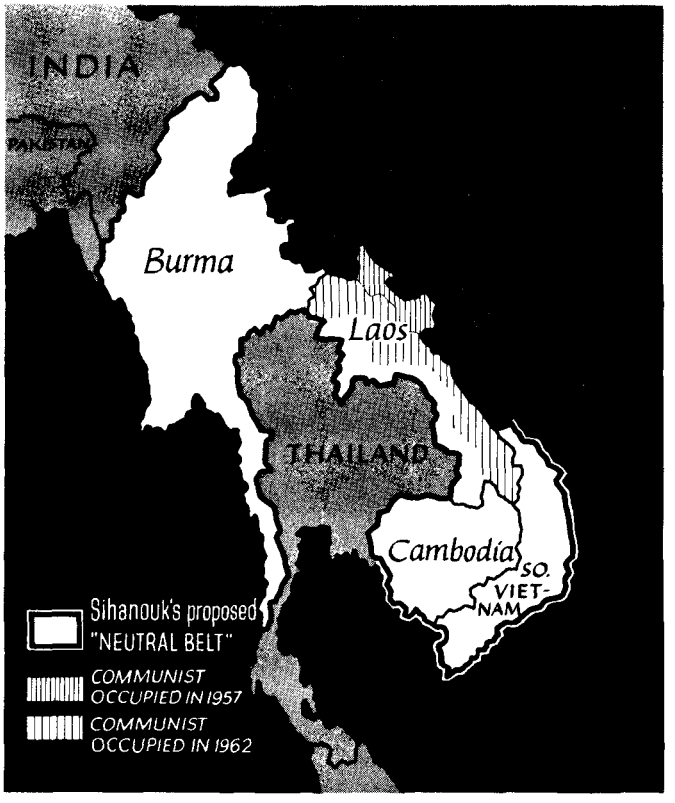
in what probably was Laos' only fair election to date, in turn balked at carrying out faithfully the military integration provisions, the "young Turks" in Vientiane felt that the time was ripe to show their recently-acquired military muscle. On May 15, 1959, hostilities began when five Royal battalions encircled one 400-man Pathet Lao battalion at the ill-fated Plaines des Jarres and managed to let the Pathet Lao escape with all their paraphernalia, women and children. Then, in August, the other Pathet Lao battalion took to the hills when all the Laotian officers of the units which guarded them went to a princely wedding banquet in nearby Luang-Prabang.

How this American-equipped and soon American-cadred Royal Laotian Army (beefed up from 29,000 men to more than 60,000 by 1962 and paid just about the highest wages of any non-American force in the world), managed to lose one battle after another, regardless of whether they were fighting the Pathet Lao, Kong-Le's paratroops, or the Viet Minh from North Vietnam which joined the fray in late 1960, is part of recent newspaper history.

By May, 1961, the now extreme right-wing regime in Vientiane had been militarily driven to the wall. What was then left of Laos, *i.e.*, the Mekong Valley varying in breadth from five to fifteen miles, and a few mountain areas in the far northeast, could have fallen into Pathet Lao or Kong-Le hands at any time. Once the United States had made up its mind that a military stand was hopeless in Laos, the only thing that was left



for its man Phoumi to do (Prince Boun Oum was never more than a figurehead) was to negotiate with Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong. That Phoumi and his associates succeeded in delaying that negotiation from May, 1961, to June, 1962, must be considered a major diplomatic achievement.

It was the last Pathet Lao drive on Nam-Tha and Ban Houei Sai [*NR*, June 18, 1962] that did in 10 days what one year of cajoling and even financial pressure (the US had cut off economic but not military aid to Vientiane as of January 1962) had not been able to achieve. Phoumi Nosavan – now a general, in view of the military "successes" of his army – no longer had any objections to handing over the defense and interior (police) portfolios to the neutralist faction. The last round of talks were, in deliberate humiliation of the right-wing leaders, held at the headquarters of the Souvanna Phouma – Souphanouvong groups.

What ensued there was little more than a return to the *status quo ante* 1957 – only five years later, and with much more of everything in Pathet Lao hands: Prince Souphanouvong returned to his Ministry of Planning, to which the Ministry of Economics was added; another extremely anti-American Pathet Lao chieftain, Phoumi Vongvichit, received the important post of Minister of Information and Propaganda (Tourism was thrown in for good measure); and the Pathet Lao was given two secretaries of state – Planning and Economics and Public Works and Transport. In other words, the Pathet Lao now holds a total stranglehold on the nation's economy and transportation system.

In addition, the international position of Laos has completely changed in five years. Whereas in 1957 there was no question of having Iron Curtain embassies in Vientiane, the Russians are now there and the Poles are back with the International Control Commission; a North Vietnamese representation of sorts will be unavoidable. Also, while in 1957-58 Souvanna Phouma had been able to turn down a suggestion of his half-brother Souphanouvong to have Laos accept Red Chinese or Russian economic aid, it is probable that now there will be economic aid from both those countries and from North Vietnam. Whether the Chinese Nationalist Embassy, which Phoumi in a fit of pique installed in Vientiane a few months ago, will be able to remain or will be ignominiously ordered out of town (another loss of face) remains to be seen. It is, however, very likely. American military advisers will have to leave the country within 75 days; so will the North Vietnamese – but it is easier to tell a US Special Forces sergeant from a Meo than it is to tell a North Vietnamese Thai mountaineer tribesman from a Laotian Thai mountaineer tribesman. As for the French military training mission, whose permanent stay in Laos under the 1954 Geneva accords had been assured

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– and which thus constituted a "trip wire" for SEATO – its maintenance on Laotian soil had even been accepted in the Chou En-lai-Souvanna Phouma talks of 1956. Now it too is a victim of the defeat of the Laotian right-wing (which, ironically, hated the French) and must leave Laos within five years or earlier.

Will It Work?

On the face of it, the new government, with its seven pro-Phouma neutralists, its four "Vientiane neutralists," its four pro-Phoumi nationalists, and its four *Neo Lao Hak Xat* [Pathet Lao] pro-Communists, is far from Communist-dominated. In fact, the combination of "Vientiane neutralists" and pro-Phoumi elements still outweighs the strength of the neutralists by themselves and could still, in the suicidally shortsighted political life of Laos, bring about an unholy alliance between the two right and left extremes against the moderate middle. It has happened before in more sophisticated political situations and can very well happen here.

The big unknown in the whole equation is whether and how the military provisions of the coalition agreement will be carried out. After all, this was (The Hon. J. Graham Parsons aside) the big stumbling block in 1957-58 when the problem was limited to the integration of 1,500 poorly-armed Pathet Lao into a Royal Army 29,000 strong. Now, with the over-inflated Vientiane forces numbering over 60,000 men, the Pathet Lao counting at least 25,000 and the 600 paratroops of Kong-Le having blossomed into about 15,000 men, it is anybody's guess on what basis and in what proportion each side will disarm so as to reduce the unified "new" Royal Laotian Army to a size and armament in consonance with the internal security mission which it will have to fulfill. This promises to be a great deal more arduous than it appears, as America's friend General Phoumi already has turned down the appointment of able Gen. Amkha Soukhavong as chief of staff of the reunified force. Amkha, the only Christian general in this Buddhist country, is the only Laotian who could truly be called a professional senior officer. Arrested by the Phoumi forces in the fall of 1960 for his loyalty to the Souvanna Phouma government, he had been rotting in a right-wing dungeon in Savannakhet until last week, badly weakened from beri-beri.

The other unknown is whether "Neutralism" can be made into a viable *internal* policy by the time the next legislative elections come around. To be sure, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma created on May 26, 1961, a "Neutral Lao Party," or *Lao Pen Kang*, with magnificently detailed statutes and theoretically an all-encompassing cell structure reaching down to the smallest village. The only trouble with it is that it exists strictly on paper and has had little if any chance to sink its roots into the Laotian soil. There is no doubt that if a fair election were held in the near future, the only thing that would keep the Pathet Lao from winning 75 percent of the vote is a joint effort of the right-wing, the neutralists and Britain, France and, above all, the United States, to see something like a middle-of-the-road Lao government survive. And since Laos probably shares with France the privilege of having "*la Droite la plus bête du monde*," and since only the French have been backing Souvanna Phouma wholeheartedly from the start, this is unlikely to happen. The only other thing that might prevent Red Prince Souphanouvong from immediately making hash of his neutralist half-brother is Souphanouvong's realization that the next round of fighting might involve the US Marines from across the Mekong River. More important, he might get himself embroiled in a Sino-Russian tug-of-war that might cause him more distress than the Marines. In other words, Souvanna Phouma's Laos, standing on its own little neutral feet, is going to be pretty wobbly at best.

This might perhaps be the time, therefore, to "Think Big," even if it hurts, rather than emoting about the "Loss of Laos." It was Dr. Joel Halpern, a social scientist from UCLA who had worked in Laos, who answered that one once by saying: "But it wasn't *ours* to lose, to begin with"; it might be wise to rethink the situation from that starting point. It might be equally wise to resurrect out of the UN's files the proposal made by Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk in September, 1960 (it was howled down by the US press at the time as "unrealistic") for neutralizing Laos *and his own country* by joint declarations of the two blocs. This would give Laos a structural attachment to a country, Cambodia, with which it had never been at war, with which it shares a French cultural background from colonial days and more than a thousand years of Buddhism. A "Common Market" between the two countries would give Laos access to Cambodia's port at Sihanoukville, allowing cheaper imports, and Cambodia could "export" to Laos some of its own enthusiasm for schools and economic development (as well as fierce resistance to internal Communist subversion). In recent months, considering the increasing US entanglement in the morass of what might become a 10-year guerrilla war in South Vietnam, Prince Sihanouk has repeatedly suggested an extension of his original neutral Lao-Cambodian "axis" to a "neutral belt" from Burma to South Vietnam. That, too, is being poohpoohed as "unrealistic."

What happened at the Plaine des Jarres on June 10-12, 1962, is not the end of anything, but the beginning. The Laotians can't do it all by themselves. It is up to us to prove that we can win back for them a neutrality that we so lightheartedly threw away in 1957.

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The Dragoman of the Fathers

by Oscar Gass

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims within his ken."

To elicit this feeling, in prepared and attentive minds, once in a lifetime is a scholar's crown. But Professor Wolfson has done it three times – in 1934, in 1947 and in 1956.

I say three because I do not include among these highest achievements either his erudite *Crescas* (1929) or the distinguished, slender volume of essays, *Religious Philosophy*, now before us. In his book on Hasdai Crescas, who died in Saragossa in 1410, Wolfson did open a window on a tradition of acute philosophical discussion, in Arabic and Hebrew. But he did not, I think, successfully recreate the general Moslem-Jewish world of thought in which Crescas moved. And, if an amateur may speak, Wolfson there failed to establish his far-reaching thesis of influence. This thesis ascribes to Crescas a large role in the origin of the modern outlook on the spatial universe. The old Aristotelian-Christian world had been finite and endowed with a spatial hierarchy of perfections. The new universe was infinite, and, to its physical facts, the criteria of perfection afforded no insight. The substitution was an intellectual revolution. Did Crescas participate in it?

Religious Philosophy
by Harry Austryn Wolfson
(Harvard; $5.50)

Wolfson's early book does indeed show conclusively that – before Nicholas of Cusa and Giordano Bruno – Hasdai Crescas had rejected the Aristotelian closed finite world and had adopted instead a conception of an infinite universe. But Wolfson would have it that ". . . [Crescas] opened *for us* the vistas of a new conception of the universe." (Italics mine). *For us*, on the contrary, I suspect Crescas opened nothing. That door was opened, in the 16th and 17th Centuries, by other hands, which – so far as we have evidence – knew not Crescas (though Spinoza did). A quarter century after the publication of Wolfson's study, Alexander Koyré wrote an illuminating historical sketch of this intellectual revolution (*From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe.*) He did not find it necessary to mention Crescas' name. And I do not believe that this omission was mere wanton oversight.

But when he came to the two volumes of his *Philosophy of Spinoza* (1934), Wolfson gave us a truly great book. Unlike the Spinoza biographers, Wolfson does not begin by romanticising over the secluded life of the great philosopher. On the contrary, he perceives the sharp tension and conflict between that seclusion and Spinoza's reasoned principles, adding ". . . recluses [like Spinoza] . . . are made . . . [not by philosophy but] by the inhospitableness of the social environment and by the ineptitude of their own individual selves." And he can say deliberately, of the famed natural piety of Spinoza, "His reputed God-intoxication was really nothing but a hangover of an earlier religious jag." More important, while deploying all the resources of his erudition to seize the inner coherence of Spinoza's thought, Wolfson does not impose a forced consistency.

For Spinoza's thought seems not fundamentally consistent – though his logical rigor in metaphysics far surpasses Descartes, as in morals and politics it far surpasses Hobbes. He was a monist, a determinist, and the most consequent of amoralists. As a monist, he will not agree that Divine Nature is more correctly identified with mind than with matter. His determinism involves a universal necessity, in which physical causality is not essentially different from mathematical implication. And he accordingly denies design, will and freedom, alike in God and man. "In the nature of things nothing contingent is admitted, but all things are determined by the necessity of Divine Nature to exist and act in a certain way." And again, "Things could not have been produced by God in any manner or order other than that in which they were produced." Since then, for Spinoza, nature admits no "could have been," the only true freedom is the freedom from petulance that emerges in the rational man, through his understanding that everything in heaven and earth is what it necessarily must be. The good that is different from the actual is a mere fancy of the inadequate understanding and moral responsibility is a slavish illusion. Determinism implicates amoralism.

Yet the great rationalist philosopher also held firmly, and indeed most pugnaciously, that, beyond the first knowledge through the senses and the second knowledge through reason, lies a third knowledge through intuition. And by that third knowledge, he held, we directly know God; we also know that in Him we have our being; and we further know that the individual human mind is not entirely destroyed in the death of the body. After having deprived Divine Nature of every element of personality, Spinoza retains for this impersonal Entity the emotional reactions towards a profoundly cherished God the Father.

In exposition of Spinoza's meaning, Wolfson promises ". . . an abundance of undreamed-of new material . . ." and he performs on the promise. He provides a historical commentary of almost unexampled richness and great perspicacity. But it is not his intention to write a philosophical commentary – or rather he intends to go only part way in doing so. By a philosophical commentary I mean a treatment like the

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Examination of McTaggart's Philosophy by C. D. Broad. Professor Broad there sets out to tell us what McTaggart held and how what he held compares with some older views. This much Wolfson does also and with enormously greater historical sweep. But Broad then goes on to try to establish what is sound and what is unsound in McTaggart's views and also in some cases, what lines can reach better answers. This second endeavor in the case of Spinoza would be a vast enterprise, and Wolfson only dabbles in it.

Not that he abstains from critical views. Indeed he can be quite corrosive. He calls one major section of Spinoza's thought "A Metaphysic for Bilious Souls," and one subsection bears the title "Same Old Rock of Salvation." He says, derisively: "The remedies offered by him [Spinoza] are indeed such as popular wisdom in the past has reduced to the form of proverbs, which are writ large on the pages of copy books. . . . Spinoza prescribes them as a metaphysic and dispenses them in geometric propositions." But for the most part Wolfson tries to clear away obscurities and then wraps himself in the historian's robe of ". . . those of us who are now mainly interested in the objective understanding of Spinoza's thought rather than in passing criticism on it." There is no need for anyone to go away hungry – even those who are interested *both* in objective understanding and in passing criticism. We may all agree to partake here of what is so generously offered. Other books can help. (Of the most recent, I would call attention particularly to A. G. Wernham, *The Political Works*, 1958.) But Wolfson's is the one commentary indispensable to the serious study of Spinoza. All praise to the master guide!

Thirteen years later, Wolfson did it again. (*Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy.*) With a magisterial sweep, he evoked Darwin's voyage of discovery on HMS Beagle and invited his readers to a similar voyage. "Let us also set sail on some Beagle of our own in search of philosophic specimens, and . . . from their internal structures, let us try to learn something about the origin and classification of their species, which species we commonly call . . . systems of philosophy." The specimens are externally distinguished by five languages – Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew. A first dissection quickly shows that the latter four groups are all dependent on the first. And when the specimens are arranged in time sequence, there is, at one point, a decided change in character. At this point, there appear homilies or commentaries on sacred Scriptures – an Old Testament, a New Testament, and a Koran.

And then appear also new conceptions. "This change in the type of religious literature . . . is not a mere matter of externality; it marks a fundamental break in philosophic doctrines. . . ." It marks the opening of a period after ancient Greek philosophy, which had no such authoritative revealed Scripture, and before modern philosophy "which began with an attempt to free itself from Scripture." Wolfson then states his central thesis: "Medieval philosophy . . . is . . . the common philosophy of three religions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – consisting of one philosophy written in five languages – Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew. It is indeed a continuation of pagan Greek philosophy but at the same time a radical revision of that philosophy, stressing certain doctrines by which it is distinguished from ancient pagan philosophy." Wolfson's task is to expound – in meaning and origin and filiation – these characteristically new doctrines: revelation, sacred text and allegorical interpretation, God, Logos, the Ideas, the Holy Spirit, divine predicates, creation, souls, angels, immortality, faith, free will, prophecy, etc. Searching his way back in time, Wolfson does not refrain from pinpointing the break between ancient and medieval philosophy with a precision in which he will be followed by few. He nails it to Philo of Alexandria, who died about 40 A.D. "This fundamental departure from pagan Greek philosophy . . . appears first in Hellenistic Judaism. . . . Philo is the founder of this new school of philosophy, and from him it directly passes on to the gospel of St. John and the Church Fathers, from whom it passes on to Moslem and hence also to medieval Jewish philosophy. Philo is the direct or indirect source of this type of philosophy which continues uninterruptedly in its main assertions for well-nigh seventeen centuries, when at last it is openly challenged by Spinoza." And, just before the close of his two sturdy volumes, Wolfson adds combatively, "For well-nigh seventeen centuries this Philonic philosophy dominated European thought. Nothing really new happened in the history of European philosophy during that extended period." Little comfort for the neo-Thomists!

Wolfson's thesis in the *Philo* is of huge scope. Only those may presume to pass on the strength of the chain who are in a position to test independently at least a few of the links. It may be said, however, that Wolfson's assurance does not always produce equal assurance in the mind of the critical reader. He reconstructs mental processes and ascribes influence in a manner always plausible but which leaves the reader frequently with the skeptical thought, "We do not really know that, and we shall not know it the more by arguing vehemently that we *do* know it." One example must suffice. In describing the religious practices of the Alexandrian Jews, Wolfson reminds us that, in the Palestine of that time, pious Jews recited twice daily the *Shema*, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." Now Philo never quotes this text in support of the unity of God, and this is curious. But Wolfson concludes that Philo "probably" did not quote this text because it was so well known! And he says, "*Undoubtedly* the same confession of the belief in the unity of God was also followed twice daily by Hellenistic Jews." (Italics mine.) But here Wolfson sets down his "undoubtedly" precisely in a place where there is no evidence that would suffice in an application for a dog license. The strong adverb conveys, to the critical reader, not *undoubtedly* but instead *I guess it to be likely though I have no direct evidence.* Wolfson does things of this kind not infrequently. But in perspective – while diminishing our conviction that Wolfson has always traced influences where he suspects them – such defects are mere flyspecks on so great a work. The scholarship is so towering that there is human relief in finding it not infallible.

Wolfson's *Philo* is also, perhaps un-

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wittingly, here and there a work of self-revelation. Then it testifies only ostensibly to the Alexandria and Israel of Philo and Christ but actually to the Boston and New York of Wolfson's America. So, in describing the apostate Jews of Alexandria, he says "Perhaps . . . it was easier for them to lose their relish for the God of their fathers than for the cooking of their mothers. . . ." And elsewhere he remarks, "There was evidently no professional class of religious leaders among Alexandrian Jews to acclaim the increasing sins of their patrons as successive stages in the progress of their religion." And his general judgment on the Alexandrian Jewish community carries the same note of bitter contrast with the here and now. "Indeed, Alexandrian Jews craved good-will, but good-will to them meant to bury the hatchet; it did not mean to bury convictions and cover up differences. They never fawned, they never crawled, they never yielded what they considered to be the truth."

If we read the sentences quoted above with seeing eyes, we will understand that they bear only a remote relationship to Philo's Alexandria. And we may be moved to deny a judgment of the Rabbis: no, prophecy has not been entirely extinguished in Israel.

Even those who knew Professor Wolfson's earlier work were amazed when, in 1956, he did it a third time. (*The Philosophy of The Church Fathers*, volume I.) The first volume of a promised two, already establishes this treatment as of an intellectual quality rarely attempted in such studies. Indeed only Part Two of volume I, entitled *The Trinity, The Logos, and the Platonic Ideas*, constitutes, by itself, one of the truly great essays in intellectual history. In relation to remoter predecessors (Harnack, Tixeront, Bethune-Baker), Wolfson had, of course, the advantage of standing on their shoulders. But the magnitude and quality of what Wolfson is doing, in his *Church Fathers*, comes out clearly when it is compared with a serious book (*History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 1955) published only one year earlier, by a distinguished scholar, Étienne Gilson. Reading the two books together gives a shock. Dogmatic preferences may, of course, run otherwise, but I cannot see how any qualified and sincere mind, reading these books together, can emerge otherwise than with the conviction that – after every allowance for error and oversight – Wolfson's work reflects an enormously greater fidelity to the actual human development and a far deeper penetration into the real meaning and linkage of ideas. Wolfson also clearly demonstrates that the later middle ages produced far less philosophical novelty than is attributed to them.

Wolfson links his *Church Fathers* to the *Philo*, but not oppressively so. He acknowledges that the greater part of the distinctive Patristic problems are due to "external accessions" from outside the Philonic framework. But he has little doubt that the Fathers (and also the Gnostics and Heretics) learned from Philo, directly and indirectly, how to see philosophy in Scripture and how to select and reconcile. Few critical readers will follow Wolfson in *all* his reconstructions of mental processes, and maybe none will be convinced by *all* his proofs of Philo's influence. Perhaps, in the end, he does not see Philo under too many beds.

The centuries covered by the *Church Fathers* may be regarded as embracing two periods – first from Christ to the imperial adoption of Christianity and the First Council at Nicaea in 325, and second from 325 to the Sixth Council at Constantinople in 680. The first may be called the period of prestatutory Christianity; it accomplished, together with much else, the rejection by the Chrisian churches of polytheism in the form of Gnosticism. The second inaugurates the long history of Christianity by statute; it begins with the stigmatizing as heretical of the more unitarian view of God. Christian procedure during this early statutory period is described by Wolfson thus: ". . . controversies were not allowed to go on as free individual discussions. Councils were called to decide which side was right. The decision of right and wrong was arrived at by majority vote. Those who won retained to themselves the name catholic. Those who were voted down were anathematized and declared as heretics." By the Sixth Council, this procedure had acquired its full obscurantist character: it prohibited even thought. On that occasion the Council first emended the Chalcedonian creed, regarding Christ's two natures, to include two natural wills and two natural operations, and then ruled "no one is allowed to bring forward, that is to say, to write down or to compose or to think or in some other way to teach another belief. Those who venture to compose another belief . . . shall, if bishops or clerics, be deposed . . . but,

Boyhood

Boyhood was nakedness and not knowing flesh:
a fish in the farm brook teaching himself to swim
long summer through. Boyhood was grapes that climbed
up the pear tree, a bough a chair, and dessert
fat in the sun; and cherries in bowls of hands
a stolen treat, their seeds when popped from mouths
the silly joy of a juicy, delicious game.
Boyhood was a siren, a flame against the night;
face to the wall while the whole world was aflame
till the siren ceased; the silence was more fierce.
Boyhood was morning, a time when no thing died.
Boyhood was being alone yet never alone
while the cloud-vessels sailed the endless seas.
Boyhood was tears in a big brother's secret world,
in a world once hero-strong, then villain-dark,
and a turning away from the dirty act and hands;
boyhood was being alone then, being alone.

Joseph Joel Keith

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if monks or laymen, shall be anathematized." The Council there ordered thought to stop.

The *Religious Philosophy* consists of ten essays plus a charming little Sermon. The subjects range from Plato to the European 18th Century. My own favorite is *St. Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy.*

Wolfson presents himself as only a historian, not prepared to philosophize or theologize, but he cannot be taken quite at his word. He turns Philo or the Fathers into modern language, and, though professing to speak only as a barrister – following a brief supplied by the client, he defends traditional theology against modern critics. But always when the going gets rough, he does revert to the role of the historian: "I am the dragoman of the Fathers; I am not their neo-izer." This dragoman is no ordinary guide. His effort is endless. Anybody seriously interested in the history of religious thought in the West will wish to read him.

Yet I shall accuse him of injustice – in the treatment of modern philosophers. The worst case is his first essay, and in it the handling of David Hume. This essay is entitled, *The Philonic God of Revelation and His Latter-Day Deniers.* Hume is quite properly selected as one of the deniers. But Hume is treated only as a foil to Philo. Wolfson does not begin to convey the quality or range of Hume's own thought. If Wolfson is in a hurry, he should at least steer the reader to a more adequate account of Hume's theology. Hume's great work, the *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion,* was published posthumously, and there was no really good edition, revealing the development of Hume's thought, until Norman Kemp Smith published one in 1935. But Professor Wolfson is content to refer his reader to an edition of 1854. Of Hume's *Dialogues,* C. D. Broad has written: "... so far as the present writer can see, [they] leave little further to be said on the subject." Broad may have exaggerated. But, to read Wolfson, one would be unable to suspect how such an exaggeration could even begin to arise. I would accordingly warn the reader that it is the historian who, in this case, sets out a battered, floating buoy, which gives only an inadequate clue to the thought it intends to mark. The philosopher, Hume, reaches to the roots of his own thought much more adequately than does the historian. And this philosopher also expresses his own thought more clearly, logically and elegantly – indeed with a distinctive tone that echoes permanently in the memories of those who have once bent their minds to listen.

With Augustine and Pelagius, Wolfson is closer to the center of his recent specialization. Many have stressed how misguided a doctrine is Augustine's on the foundations of morals and politics. (And I agree with this stress.) Wolfson is content to demonstrate, perhaps more clearly and decisively than it has been done before, how new Augustine's views were. For Augustine departed radically from the earlier tradition of the Church Fathers. Pelagius remained in the earlier tradition and became its articulate exponent.

The essence of Augustine's position involves: first, the exaltation of divine power at the expense of divine justice and human freedom; second, the division of human souls into those elected by God – from before the creation of the world – to eternal salvation and those formed by Him for eternal damnation; third the limitation of human freedom to freedom to act rightly by those eternally saved and freedom to act sinfully by those eternally damned; fourth, the identification (quite newly invented by Augustine) of sexual desire as the root principle of all sin; fifth, the rejection of justice as the foundation of the State – to be sought by fallible men – and instead the emphasis on the State as the ordered control over sinful men; sixth, the principle (accepted also by others) that outside the true Church, which teaches these doctrines, there is no salvation for any man. This was Augustine's position. Pelagius rejected its moral philosophy, and he was consequently stigmatized by Augustine as no better than a Jew.

And indeed Augustine's accusation was partly right. Pelagius and the earlier Church Fathers did not differ essentially with Judaism respecting human sin and human freedom. They were all far from Augustine's views of total corruption by original sin. As Wolfson says, ". . . by [Adam's] fall . . . the power of his descendants to resist the evil impulse within them was weakened . . . With none of the Father's [before Augustine] did it mean a complete loss of the power of freedom. . . . Man was still free . . . he still had the power to resist the flesh, even though he was now in greater need of divine grace. And if divine grace was extended to him, he still had the power to resist that grace." Before Augustine, the old Jewish formulation of the problem of human freedom was on every lip: "See I have placed before thee this day life and good, and death and evil . . . therefore choose life." From its non-Augustinian outlook, traditional Judaism had also derived a joy to which Augustine (with his perverse emphasis on sexual desire as the root principle of all sin) is quite alien. The ancient Jewish prayer bears witness: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, mirth and exultation, pleasure and delight, love and brotherhood, and peace and fellowship."

Wolfson treats of these issues looking back from Augustine's fifth century. But the issues themselves are still with us. Only in 1957 C. A. Campbell gave us (in his *On Selfhood and Godhood*) a closely-reasoned, beautifully-written modern exposition of what I take to be, in all essentials, Pelagian moral doctrine. Campbell's is one of our important books of moral philosophy. Two decades ago, Reinhold Niebuhr attempted (in *Human Nature and Destiny*) to rehabilitate Augustine by a vaguely-stated "non-literal" interpretation; Niebuhr's enterprise was however, to my mind, a failure. And for those who are interested in conventional apologetics, Etienne Gilson has

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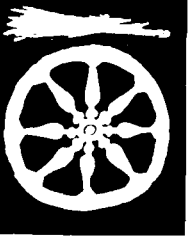

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produced only in 1960 a volume (*The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine*) bearing the imprimatur of the Roman Church.

As Wolfson's years lengthen, so do his pledges. He has now promised us the second volume of the *Fathers*, a book on Moslem religious philosophy, a revised and enlarged *Spinoza*, and a survey of Greek religious philosophy from Plato to Philo. This is an amazing program following an amazing achievement.

At the close of his *Spinoza*, Wolfson gives a moving, though imagined, account of Spinoza, late in life, inconsistently and half-forgetfully, delivering a sermon. We would not suggest comparison with the great philosopher. And we are further, in mind, from the traditional faith than Spinoza was. Yet we are not so far as to be incapable of recapturing, in mood, the sentiment of thanksgiving with which the traditional faith responds to the experience of such scholarship as Professor Wolfson's. *Blessed art Thou who givest effort and precision, imagination with control, sympathy and understanding to the mind of the scholar.*

Those Controversial Papers

by Robert W. Tucker

The brief political tempest stirred up by the appearance of *The Liberal Papers* appears to have subsided – at least for the moment. It was a good try, but the Republican High Command's attempt to use *The Liberal Papers* to stigmatize Democratic liberals in Congress as advocates of "international surrender" has not caught on. Perhaps it was simply too contrived.

The Liberal Papers
edited by James Roosevelt
(Doubleday-Anchor; $1.25)

The link between the ten Congressmen who made up the so-called "Liberal Project" and *The Liberal Papers* was very tenuous. Most of them have denied there was ever any organization known as the "Liberal Project." All but a few have denied participating even in the informal discussions which – whether or not they should have been called a "project" – undeniably formed the background of *The Liberal Papers* Rep. James Roosevelt edited the volume and wrote a brief introduction, but even he disclaims responsibility for the views advocated in these papers.

In describing the papers Senator Dirksen gave it as his considered judgment that: "Chamberlain surely never did as much for Hitler as is proposed here under the name of liberalism to be done for Khrushchev and Mao." Rep. William E. Miller, the Republican national chairman, thought the book contained the "most dangerous foreign policy recommendations" he had ever seen. "The proposals," Miller wrote to party leaders, "not only repeat the Communist line – they go beyond the Communist line." This is strong stuff. The broad implication was clear. The Democratic party – particularly the liberal wing – is shot through with actual or would-be appeasers awaiting only the propitious moment to make good on their infamous "no-win" philosophy. The Democrats can perhaps be excused for retorting that it is difficult to decide whether it is worse to have the GOP in power or out of power, since one is forced to choose between incompetence and irresponsibility.

However absurd the entire episode, it points to a serious problem. In the years ahead a continuing effort at negotiating with the Soviets will have to be made. The cold war itself cannot be resolved through negotiation so long as the great protagonists do not share the same view of the minimum requirements of international order. But negotiations may serve the more modest purpose of helping to create an environment within which the present struggle can be conducted with greater safety. Neither side in these negotiations can be expected to surrender its faith in ultimate victory. The eschatological hopes of the negotiating parties need not prove incompatible, however, with agreements on limited measures that each party may interpret as facilitating the realization of these hopes. At the same time, it is clear that if such negotiations are to enjoy even a small measure of success both sides will have to distinguish between ultimate visions and immediate realities. The refusal to draw this distinction inhibits any compromise with the adversary since it finds in every compromise a sacrifice, if not a betrayal, of the ultimate vision.

It is characteristic of those who reject the above distinction to look upon any serious effort at negotiation as evidence of a "no-win" philosophy. In effect, they advocate no negotiations with the adversary. The significant, and disturbing, things about the reaction to *The Liberal Papers* is that this Goldwater theme may be finding increasing favor within the Republican Party.

The papers that make up this volume are quite disparate in outlook and quality. Most of them reflect dissatisfaction with American policy. But the degree of dissatisfaction as well as the alternative measures proposed vary considerably. The lead essay by David Reisman and Michael Maccoby is a wide ranging critique of American society and not directly relevant to policy choices. James Warburg "re-examines" our foreign policy and comes up with what must be some kind of record for "principles, aims, and procedural guide lines." Three papers deal almost entirely with defense problems. Walter Millis retraces the argument for a minimum deterrent, the sole function of which is to insure retaliation against a nuclear attack on this country. Arthur Waskow examines the theory and practice of deterrence and finds all forms of deterrence wanting save the "theory of disarmament as deterrent." Charles E. Osgood details his proposal for "tension reduction through reciprocal initiative." Osgood's proposal has been described as the principle, "if you give a little you may get a little." Curiously enough, he sees his proposal as a wholly novel innovation in diplomacy.

Two papers deal with the underdeveloped areas: Vera Dean on Southeast Asia and Frank Tannenbaum on Latin America. Both think that our policy suffers in these areas by being wedded to the status quo. Both believe that military aid should be de-emphasized, that we should abandon the attempt to gain allies, and that non-alignment may

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turn out to be most compatible with long-term American interests. Allen S. Whiting contributes an interesting analysis of Communist China's foreign policy and argues that it has been much more rational, calculating, and cautious than we have been disposed to believe. H. Stuart Hughes urges disengagement in Europe, the detachment of Germany from NATO, and a drastic reduction in NATO's scope. In this way, he believes, current tensions would be alleviated, the integration of Western Europe could proceed on the economic and cultural planes, and a disengaged and federated Germany might eventually serve as an economic and cultural bridge between East and West. Quincy Wright presents the case for a strengthened United Nations, recommending several measures that would modestly increase the Organization's power over the member states. Finally, two papers by Emile Benoit and Kingsley Davis are devoted to analyzing economic adjustments to disarmament and new population trends.

It is not possible in this space to discuss the various papers in detail. Many of the criticisms made have been elaborated often in the past, even by some within the Establishment. A number of the more moderate proposals (*e.g.*, the endorsement of the goal of total and universal disarmament, the creation of a disarmament agency) have already been acted upon by the Kennedy Administration. Others (*e.g.*, the admission of Communist China to the United Nations) are bound to become a reality sooner or later.

What is perhaps distinctive about most of these papers is not so much the specific character of their proposals as the general outlook that seems to inform them. This outlook certainly cannot be described as a "no win" philosophy. On the contrary, it is almost sanguine in its assumption that a moderation of the cold war is bound to result in the triumph of liberal values. When Stuart Hughes, for example, advocates a policy that would lead to the neutralization of Western Europe, it is not because he believes the liberal cause is lost but because he is persuaded that we have only to decrease cold war tensions and the liberal cause is largely won. The concomitant of this optimism is the conviction that the deeper causes of the cold war are to be found at least as much in our own betrayal of liberal values as in the external threat to these values. If we would only reform our own society and abandon some of the obsessions we have developed about the world in general and the adversary in particular – our "psychologic" as Osgood terms these obsessions – we would be well on the way to a stable and peaceful – and liberal – world. Unfortunately, the evidence for this is no more persuasive today than it was 15 years ago.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Oscar Gass *is a consultant on economics.* Robert W. Tucker *is the author of* The Just War. Joseph Joel Keith's *newest book of poems is* The Stubborn Root.

ART

Figures in an Institution

As recent events in the stock market have reminded us, Coué ism – straight or in reverse – is a long way from dead. Viewed strictly from the outside, at least one factor in the slump and unslump seemed to be a lot of people thinking very hard that prices were going down and thereby bringing them down, then thinking not quite so hard that they were going back up, and watching that, too, come to pass. The old cultural ailment, loss-of-nerve, contended with the new religious ailment, positive thinking, and both proved their power. If we live in a unified culture – and we certainly do – it is reasonable to suppose such Coué coups can be brought off in the world of art as well as anywhere else. A brilliantly conceived test case of this supposition is now on view at the Museum of Modern Art and I regret to say the results are inconclusive, or, more accurately, I'm as baffled as anyone else as to what it all means.

The show is "Recent Painting USA: The Figure." The show has just opened and will be in New York until the day after Labor Day, when it departs for a year's tour of six other American cities. It was announced about two years ago and when it was announced regular visitors to the Museum's continuing series of American contemporary exhibitions might have been pardoned for reacting with plain incredulity at the title. Recent Painting USA: The Figure? You might as well say, Recent Painting USA: The Landscape, or Recent Painting USA: The Still Life. There were no such things. They'd all been killed by the camera and by nuclear physics. There were only Recent Painting USA: The Paint, and Recent Painting USA: The Act. The Museum itself had pushed to the farthest fron-

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DIAL

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tiers with Recent Painting USA: The Pin Stripe, and Recent Painting USA: Holes Torn in Canvas. Yet, there was the announcement; it was rather as if Pope John were suddenly to endorse Ben-Gurion's Messianic tourism.

And here's the show, 74 paintings by 74 artists, all concerned with the figure in painting. What's more, this is but the tip of iceberg. Behind the 74 are no less than 1,841 artists who submitted photos of their paintings and God knows how many who didn't bother.

And here, for the Museum's devout observers, among whom I count myself, is the terrible question. Is it possible that this amount of sheer production of figure painting has been going on for many years without the Museum's knowledge? Unthinkable! Even somewhat outrageous on the part of the artists. On the other hand, equally unsettling, can a substantial part of this considerable amount of work have been called into existence by the Museum's announcement of its figure show? Or, what happens to meteorology when the weather-vane begins to give directions to the wind?

For those of us with simple faith which should remain unshaken, the best explanation is the *Zeitgeistlich:* there is a tide in the affairs of art; both painters and museum are out to take it at the flood.

On entering the show at the Modern, the tide-takers seem to have taken all, but this is a common experience at shows there. It seems to stem from the proportions of the center hall of the ground floor gallery. There are such as to invite the bigger paintings, so as to stay the passing eye and foot from hurrying on to the garden or the Whitney Museum around the corner. In the figure show, at any rate, the first paintings seen give the impression of not only non-figure painters but anti-figure painters grimly taking at the flood the tide of figure work at the museum. There are vast areas of smeared paint and dripped paint with something like a figure sometimes discernible; on other occasions the figure is confined to the title of the work. The impression is that the same old canvas-rippers are still at it, but, obedient to the weather-vane, they have thought very hard and caused figures to float, rather lumpily, to the surface of the paint.

This impression, happily, is softened by the rest of the show. There actually is a good bit of authentic figure painting present. There is nothing at all in the old Academy style and it would be extremely odd if there were. That brainless concentration on nature dolled up and reproduced was put an end to in 1908. If the main line in the show has a forebear it is Goya, not the tapestry designer; not the court painter but the nightmare printmaker and especially the old man of the "Black Paintings" in the Deaf Man's House. If the level is way down from Goya, it is not only the mystery of genius but also, perhaps, the difference between actually living through the Peninsular Campaign and merely thinking, however intensely, the unthinkable. At any rate, one large branch of recent figure painting has certainly been concerned with mute and mutilated figures lying, standing, hanging or piled up in a very dark landscape. In the show the best of this class is Robert Broderson's "New Myth-Mine Disaster."

The dimness that pervades so much of the show is used to quite different effect by Harold Altman in "Figure and Foliage." The foliage, in soft and glowing reds and greens, spreads large and lovely above the figure, head down, resting, refreshed by the presence of colored shade. Different again is the dimness of Cornelis Ruhtenberg's "Potiphar's Wife." This is the only Biblical subject on view and it is beautifully done, with economy, precision and compassion. The moment, presumably, is before the attempted seduction, though it could be after. Joseph passes off to the left, a splash of light on his shoulder. The woman sits on a chair, regarding a red flower, the only other bit of brightness. She is grave and preoccupied, alone with her lust as its object moves out to another world. The dry tan coloring of the overall scene not only suggests the local color of Egypt but more relevantly the local color of her state of being.

In just these few examples, it will have been noted that reference is constantly being made to things other than the quality of paint. In these and in most other pictures on view at the Modern, the quality of paint is not alone; it is integrated with some view of or comment upon some part of human life in the world. The figure has been recaptured, not only from Recent Painting: The Paint, but also from Academic figure painting, which, in an odd way, was no less dedicated to the exclusive importance of technical matters.

The California manner is represented in a number of paintings besides a superb Elmer Bischoff "Girl Reclining." The strongest and the simplest of these is a "Bather" by Paul Wonner, flooded with blue and green light shining in a great Z form made of horizon, water's edge and shadow on sand, all focussed on the bather bent to dry a leg.

The show also has a few paintings that would have been quite conceivable before the 1950's and they comprise a very strong section. René Bouché's frightening portrait of Elsa Maxwell is one. Another is the mysterious, faintly surreal "Wedding Dress" by Ben Kamihira. Odd objects and attitudes, a high angle of view and very close painting at once give you the creeps and lead you on to sympathy.

The stand out picture is the last: "Coronation" by Joseph Hirsch, a man who persisted in painting the figure

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when all the weather-vanes were pointing the other way. This major work groups the ringside, the press, the officials, the handlers and a lusciously painted babe-from-the-back around a winning boxer. It says everything about the subject and a great deal about art. FRANK GETLEIN

MOVIES

Humbug Humbug

"If you want to make a movie out of my book," says Humbert Humbert, "have one of these faces gently melt into my own, while I look." He is referring to the photographs in some Wanted posters. Now his advice has, essentially, been followed – with slight alteration; the film-makers have melted another face into Humbert's: a blend of sorrow and sympathy. Instead of

Lolita (MGM)

H. H., the gonad nomad, he is now a trusty, tristful Tristan.

Assume, for the moment, that the screen adapter of *Lolita* is named John Smith. Smith recognizes that the novel is a poem of love, desire, horror, and ridicule. The ecstasies of these emotions, like any ecstasy, have not bothered to keep within the traffic lines of convention; they have been controlled only so far as to be fixed in art. It is Smith's job to push this large work through the narrow entrance to Movieland. He is clever enough to see that he need not chop off much or grind it down. All he has to do is to extract some of the center and the outer edges will automatically shrink.

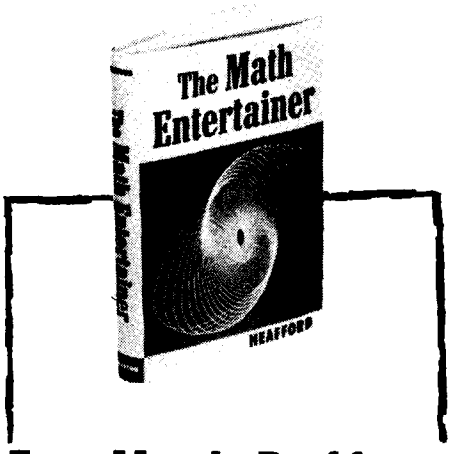
Smith then proceeds to his taxidermy, taking out entrails, putting in stuffing, reducing but retaining life-like semblance. From Lolita he takes her nymphet precocity; he changes her from twelve to an unspecified mid-adolescent age, 15 or so (a bigger jump than from 15 to 30). Thus he eliminates Humbert's sexual particularity and makes him more like the usual middle-aged fool. From Humbert he takes, too, all fire, the flaring-up at the merest touch of the beloved, and casts him as a knight-at-arms palely loitering. With the censorable elements "licked," Smith proceeds to beef up the drama. Instead of trying murder with pills, he lets Humbert nearly shoot Charlotte. He deviates from the sole, solipsist viewpoint of the book to give Charlotte a little scene with her first husband's ashes and Quilty a little scene with a hotel clerk. (To please the two stars?) When Humbert learns that Lolita has been abducted from the hospital, Smith has him throw such a tantrum that he has to be pinned to the floor and threatened with a straitjacket. And Smith suggests a couple of close-ups of his tormented face as he lies there so that we can empathize with his pain. Who says this story has no heart?

Smith then cuts out the pursuit of the chameleon Quilty as he had previously cut all of Humbert's antecedents (so that we never know who Humbert is or how he got that way or what way it is that he *got*). He puts in some funny business with a folding cot; he transposes the climactic murder of Quilty to the beginning. What matter that its humorous quality is thus incomprehensible and that the progress of the book is mutilated? It's an attention-grabber. Smith can now be happy; he has squeezed the book through the sound-stage door.

Smith, as we all know, is in fact Vladimir Nabokov, who himself adapted his novel for the screen. What this implies about our culture is sad. This genius (no milder term will fit) could not be "bought." Far from truckling to popularity in his books, he has made it clear that the reader must, to some degree come to him; he is interested only in those who are willing and able. Others can, if they choose, read *Lolita* for its sexual passages (and be disappointed) or, like Orville Prescott and George Steiner, can dismiss *Pale Fire* as a boring literary prank. It is clear that Nabokov respects the novel. It is equally clear that he does not respect the film – at least as it is used in America. In the first he is content with nothing less than Nabokov in full; but to insist on this in films (we can infer) would be like insisting on Aristotelian form in musical comedy. He has given to films the *Lolita* that, presumably, he thinks the medium deserves.

The fact that the film was executed according to this view dismally confirms his judgment. There are flashes in it of the original. Scalpels gleam in the dialogue from time to time. Several of the scenes with Charlotte, the visit to Dolly Schiller, the murder scene, all have flavor. But instead of a prodigious madman's flaming autobiography in love, we get in sum a rather soggy odyssey of a rueful, obsessed mature man, a diluted *Blue Angel* with a teenage temptress instead of a tart.

Some elements in the film are far above ordinary. James Mason gives his best performance since *Odd Man Out*. Peter Sellers is staggeringly accurate as the American Quilty and Quilty-as-a-German. In accent parts he still gives the feeling of a brilliant mimic rather



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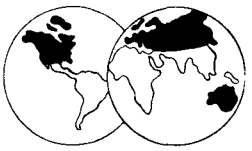

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than an actor; he always seems to be alone, like an entertainer, no matter how many others are with him; but he *is* brilliant. Shelley Winters is wistful and hygienically slovenly as Charlotte. Stanley Kubrick, the director, has caught in some sequences (the murder, Humbert in the bathtub) an approximation in film style of the novel's style. And he has drawn from Sue Lyon, a somewhat matronly nymphet of 15, a performance that is always sound and sometimes sly. Still Kubrick has not made the *Lolita* that, say, de Broca or Truffant could have made from the same script. It has little impudence or lyric surge or pyrotechnics.

Two facts should have been faced from the outset. 1) Even more than with most fine novels, *Lolita's* effect depends on its prose texture. 2) To "normalize" Humbert's sexual penchant and to remove indications of sexual activity from his story is not censorship but metamorphosis; it results in a different, lesser work.

One way that both these difficulties could have been met – a way perfectly suited to a first-person novel – is the method that Sacha Guitry often used: to "narrate" the film and occasionally to include the narrator narrating. This would have given the chance to use enough of the prose to convey its quality, and it would have given Humbert the chance to comment on his past actions (as he does in the novel and as Guitry did in his films). The general tone could have been: "Yes, this is what I did then and thought lovely. Dreadful, wasn't it? Still . . . it has its funny side, no?"

The temper of the original might thus have been tastefully preserved. The seal of approval of the Production Code Administration, which this version has, might not have been forthcoming, but the film would have dramatized Humbert's belief: "It is not the artistic aptitudes that are secondary sexual characters . . . it is the other way around: sex is but the ancilla of art."

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Correspondence

Is Schwarz an Anti-Semite?

Sirs:

May I add a postscript to my review of *You Can Trust the Communists?* (June 25) I ask this because there seems to be some question as to whether Schwarz is an anti-Semite, and readers may be interested in my opinions on the matter. I myself know of no evidence that Schwarz is prejudiced. But perhaps anti-Semitism is implicit in the exclusive nature of his "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade"? I think not, and for several reasons. Firstly, Schwarz's reasons for setting up a specifically Christian group proceed from the logic of his arguments. He rejects

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the theory that an omnibus organization is the best way to combat Communism; instead, he recommends diversity. "The great need," he says, "is multiplicity, not unity." Thus, he has advised Protestants and Catholics to form separate groups, and has renounced "the temptation to try to form a totalitarian organization modeled on Communism." I see nothing more sinister behind the fact that his group is "Christian," than that he feels he can successfully exploit the anxieties of American Christians.

Secondly, even if Schwarz were anti-Semitic, he would have every reason not to make it a part of his approach. Times have changed a good deal in the United States, and one of the things that it is no longer possible for conservatives to look forward to a "rational solution." Thus, the Right no longer has need of a Jewish scapegoat. Perhaps this explains why the partners of the Communists in the newer version of the conspiracy theory are not the Jews, but the liberals. And this is why the new conservatives like Buckley, Goldwater, and Welch, while continuing to make appeals to nationalism which are today spurious, nevertheless maintain extensive contacts elsewhere in the world. They are fully aware that the United States cannot go it alone.

I also want to reiterate my point that Schwarz himself is *not* a conservative. I re-emphasize this because certain of his critics have taken the position that he is a representative of what they call the "radical Right." These people do not appear to understand the nature of the contemporary world, and feel that when they attack Schwarz inaccurately for being against the United Nations and the Alliance for Progress, they are somehow making significant contributions to American liberalism. In reality, all they are doing is further confusing the political dialogue. The least they could do, it seems to me, is to make some attempt to find out what the man is talking about.

Finally, I would like to correct a false impression I may have conveyed in my statement, "Schwarz's type of anti-Communism is no more solicitous toward dissenters than the Communism it opposes." This may give readers the impression that Schwarz himself is intolerant in the way that many people in the United States now are. In actuality, however, Schwarz has made a standing offer to debate any representative of the Communist viewpoint, and he recently debated Robert Thompson, of the CPUSA, at New York University. I think Schwarz should be given credit for his willingness to use the democratic process. Indeed, he conveys an example that could well be emulated, not only by conservatives, but by not a few liberals and socialists.

James Gatsby
Erie, Pennsylvania

Pale Fire

Sirs:

Yes, *Timon of Athens* is right. The clue is given on pp. 79-80 and on p. 285 and elsewhere *passim*. The queer thing is that I'd looked up the passage while hunting for something else and missed "pale fire," which was staring me in the face. Rather like "The Purloined Letter."

The Wordsworth-Shelley mix-up was a trick of my own memory. Clouds of glory became stained glass. My only excuse for this and other mistakes that may and indeed probably will turn up is that my books were in storage in Poland while I was working on *Pale Fire* and I was relying on a borrowed Shakespeare and sorties to the British Council library.

A friend told me that "Pale Fire" was a Helena Rubinstein lipstick. Later another friend said it was a Revlon nail polish. It would not be easy to find out here but perhaps a *New Republic* reader will know.

My thanks to correspondents.

Mary McCarthy
Paris, France

Victims of the Kuomintang

Sirs:

I would like to call your attention to what must be a typographical error in your June 18 note, "When Chiang Goes": the number of Taiwanese massacred by the Kuomintang in the 1947 revolt was, according to all reliable sources, some 10,000 rather than 100,000. This does not, however, negate the argument of your note. The death of these 10,000 effectively destroyed the leadership of an entire generation of Taiwanese.

Mark Mancall
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